Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-93-100
Wednesday
26 May 1993

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FBIS-EEU-93-100 *26 May 1993*

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UN's Mazowiecki Criticizes Plan for Bosnia

BR2505115893 Brussels LE SOIR in French 25 May 93 p 1

[Interview with UN Special Envoy Tadeusz Mazowiecki by Pol Mathil in Warsaw; date not given: "Plan for Bosnia: Mazowiecki's Cry of Anger—'The Plan of the Five Reminds Me of Pontius Pilate. I Am Thinking of Giving Up My Mission,' Said UN Rapporteur in the Former Yugoslavia to LE SOIR"]

[Text] *Now is not a time for candor, but rather for diplomacy. These unambiguous words spoken by Tadeusz Mazowiecki will resound particularly strongly at a time when the Security Council is endeavoring to implement the 'action plan" for Bosnia—which consists largely of imposing a freeze on the current military situation that is highly favorable to the Serbs—and when the so-called EC "troika" (which includes Willy Claes) is affirming that this plan is merely a "provisional phase."*

The former Polish prime minister is still the UN's special envoy assigned to report on the situation in former Yugoslavia. While the agreement of the Five (United States, Russia, Great Britain, France, and Spain) has been categorically rejected by the presidency in Sarajevo and described as a betrayal of the Muslims in Bosnia, it is important to know the feelings of the author of several reports devoted to human rights violations in Bosnia. This was his reaction:

[Mazowiecki] These problems are not in the spotlight. The document of the Five does not specify how these rights will be defended. It even makes no mention of the need to reverse the consequences of ethnic cleansing.

[Mathil] Could it not be claimed that this document confirms the "usefulness" of ethnic cleansing? Does the plan not entail the maintenance of Serbian control over the conquered territories? Is it not rewarding the aggressor?

[Mazowiecki] Precisely. On the one hand, it says nothing about the refugees' return: There are 900,000 of them in Bosnia, at home, on their land. On the other hand, there is reason to fear that these decisions sanction a "fait accompli" achieved by aggressive means and the seizing of territory by unacceptable means.

"Cowardly Relief"

[Mathil] Is it not fair to compare the agreement of the Five with the "cowardly relief" of the Munich agreement in 1938, when a small people which had fallen victim to aggression was abandoned?

[Mazowiecki] There are compelling similarities. Especially since nothing is being said about making up for the various abuses.

[Mathil] Is accepting this so-called plan not equivalent to recognizing the impossibility of the various ethnic groups living together? Are you not afraid of seeing this type of "victory" gaining ground elsewhere, especialy in the former USSR?

[Mazowiecki] Of course, I am. The concept of the "survival of the fittest" and the acceptance of ethnic cleansing could have fatal consequences, especially in the former Soviet Union. The Russians ought to appreciate this fact better than anyone else, for there are 30 million Russians living outside their native land.

[Mathil] At one time you supported the plan to set up safe havens. However, did somebody in Poland not say that one can also feel safe in a prison? The Bosnian safety areas call to mind the Indian reservations, the Bantu homelands in South Africa, or even the ghettos.

[Mazowiecki] I supported the "safe havens" six months ago, because I believed that the "complete fulfillment" of ethnic cleansing, i.e., the murder of people, had to be avoided at all costs. So, I believed that if we could give the people a sense of security, then we should do so. However, this cannot be an isolated step. These "havens" must, on the one hand, be given genuine military protection. And there must be some prospect of a solution, of a future for these people—in other words, a possibility of their return.

[Mathil] As a former Polish prime minister, and the man who launched the rapprochement between his country and Western Europe, what do you think of the fact that some people have no hesitation in describing any idea of East-West solidarity as bankrupt?

[Mazowiecki] One only has to call to mind the London agreements to see the tragic path that we have taken since then. An undertaking was made to bring the drama to a halt, yet now we are on the way to accepting that no political Europe exists.

[Mathil] So, is this just a victory of a cynical "realpolitik" in the face of a fundamental demand for justice?

[Mazowiecki] Yes. It goes without saying that our acceptance of the status quo and the absence of any future prospects is detrimental to and at the cost of the Bosnian Muslims.

Neither Marx Nor Djilas

[Mathil] Marx said that "mankind never raises problems that it cannot resolve." Should modern mankind have raised the current Bosnian problem?

[Mazowiecki] We must continue to raise it. Stopping the fighting is important (assuming that it can be achieved), but only on condition that the violations of human rights are brought to an end.

[Mathil] Milovan Djilas calls the drama of Bosnia "a war where no one is in the right."

[Mazowiecki] This is a fair description in so far as there have been serious human rights violations by all sides, as

I have pointed out in my reports. Naturally, however, the aggressors and their victims cannot be placed on an equal footing.

[Mathil] Given the new situation, do you think that you can continue your UN mission?

[Mazowiecki] Only with difficulty. I am no Pontius Pilate.

Slovene Minister on Border With Croatia

AU2405151393 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] Today Slovene Foreign Minister Peterle invited the ambassadors of the countries accredited in our country for talks. He informed them of the Slovene views on the building of a border crossing near Secovlje, on the Slovene-Croatian border. The STA news agency reports that Croatian Ambassador Miljenko Zagar was not invited to attend the talks in the Foreign Ministry. Here is a report by Nadja Pengov:

[Begin recording] [Pengov] The 15 ambassadors accredited in our country and two charge d'affaires took part in the talks. Croatian Ambassador Miljenko Zagar did not arrive for the talks today. However, Foreign Minister Lojze Peterle held longer talks with him in Bled at the end of the previous week. After today's talks with the diplomats, Lojze Peterle held a brief news conference at which he said the following:

[Peterle] There is great interest in the events surrounding the unannounced building of a border crossing near Secovlje, on the contested territory where the border has not yet been clearly drawn. For this reason I invited the ambassadors in Ljubljana to hear our information and views about these events at first hand, and that is what has been going on over the last hour. We informed these ambassadors, in detail, of what has been going on, and also that the construction work continues today with unabated intensity. We also distributed material that explains the situation in that section of the border and answered some of the questions that the ambassadors raised regarding this.

Let me add that it is envisaged that our Ambassador Malesic will meet with the Croatian prime minister [Nikica Valentic] today. If there are no new facts forthcoming in the course of today, meaning the end of the construction work, then the government will discuss the situation this evening and take measures that are currently being contemplated.

[Pengov] When asked what the Slovene Government's measures would be, the foreign minister did not wish to reply, for the time being. He confirmed, however, that these measures will definitely be taken if there are no real results. He said that the measures will not affect the people living along the border. He was of the opinion that this complication was unnecessary, as it involved 250 meters of territory at the most. One wonders why this is necessary. This is what the representatives of the countries accredited in Slovenia wonder, too.

At the same time, Peterle stressed that Slovenia cannot agree to the policy of accomplished facts. He mentioned that the contacts of the Slovene representatives with Croatia are running smoothly these days. For example, Economics Minister Maks Tajnikar is visiting Zagreb today, discussing cooperation in the sphere of tourism. [end recording]

Slovenia, Croatia To Form Diplomatic Commission

AU2505172193 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 25 May 93

[Nadja Pengov report]

[Text] A news conference by Slovene Foreign Minister Lojze Peterle and Dr. Davorin Rudolf, chairman of the Croatian State Commission for Borders, just ended in the Slovene Parliament five minutes ago. The following was said:

They will propose to the Governments of Slovenia and Croatia that the foreign ministers of both counties form a special, so-called diplomatic commission as soon as possible to deal with the borders and bring the work to an end. They both agree that the border experts should continue their work. In the talks, the Slovene foreign minister demanded that the Croatian side immediately halt the construction of the controversial border crossing near Secovlje. In the course of the talks, they received information that the work was being stopped.

They also agreed to propose the possibility of opening a joint border crossing in Secovlje to the governments of both states. Professor Rudolf stressed that this would be advantageous for both countries. However, he did not confirm the information that the construction of the border crossing was being halted because, as he said, he had not obtained such information from Secovlje yet.

They also discussed the Piran Bay border. They agreed that the expert commissions should continue their work. However, if the experts cannot find a common ground, then the politicians should start resolving this issue. For the time being, there is no accord regarding this issue, Peterle stressed. More information on what Lojze Peterle and Dr. Davorin Rudolf said at the news conference will follow in our A-1 program and in the evening news bulletin.

Social Democratic Leader Views Coalition

AU2405121093 Tirana ALEANCA in Albanian 14 May 93 p 5

[Article by Social Democratic Party Chairman Professor Skender Gjinushi in the column "Governmental Coalition Viewed by Republican Party and Social Democratic Party Chairmen": "If We Continue To Do as We Have Done So Far, Cooperation at Governmental Level Will Remain Completely Fictitious"]

[Text] The reasons for our participation in the coalition are well-known. Despite the party configurations of the country concerned and the color of the parties, in the long run there are two types of parties: opposition parties and those in power. This has also been the case in Albania since the establishment of pluralism. The majority of the new parties set out as opponents of the Party of Labor and decided to cooperate together. Among their main goals were the overthrow of the communist system, the establishment of a pluralistic democratic system, the transformation of the centralized economy into a market economy, the conversion of bodies that were administrative in form and content into those adaptable to the new functions that they would take over, such as the establishment of a real law-governing state. This was the basis for dividing the parties into opposition or non-opposition parties, although there is a third group still unable to position itself. After the 22 March elections, proceeding from what we have just mentioned, we expressed our will to contribute to achieving all these goals, which have been and still remain the wish of all our people. For this reason, though the March results made the creation of a coalition government possible, we agreed to participate in such a government. It is understandable that we do not defend our program and interests simply through government. Parliament and local government play a great role in this. Thus, "co-governing" is obligatory for all parliamentary parties that have representatives in local government, especially under the conditions in Albania, where all the legislation that is being drafted is the main basis to separate itself from the past in every political, economic, and human rights field.

We have been and are conscious that our choice to participate in the government is a political choice. With this, we reveal our support for the reforms and the necessity to carry them out.

Along the road, the reforms have their own pains, as well as their shortcomings and defects, including incapability and incompetence. It has also partiality, in the sense that several social groups are feeling its consequences very severely, such as people on social welfare, pensioners, those who live only on their basic salaries, and those living in areas with very little land around their villages, without wanting to minimize the fact that other groups also have their own problems.

Concerning all these, our party has made and will make its remarks and criticisms. We have asked and still demand from the government to make significant improvements in its composition, particularly in its method of work, its proportions and relations with local government, its positions toward the administrative reform and privatization processes, and urgently consider the said social concerns, in which a positive influence would come from cooperating with the trade unions in resolving the problems.

Concerning the coalition itself, it is important that the government holds round-table talks with the parties. Here lies our main criticism. If we continue as we have done up till now, the cooperation at governmental level will remain completely fictitious.

Despite further developments, the Social Democratic Party will, however, support the reform and democratic processes by not accepting anything that runs counter to the law, the interests of the groups that we represent and that I have mentioned, and to our program.

Berov Reproaches Media for Incorrect Information

AU2505172993 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] In a special statement for the national mass media, Prime Minister Professor Lyuben Berov sharply reproached the television and radio for broadcasting incorrect information, something that could have had unpleasant connotations for our foreign policy.

The prime minister was referring to the report carried by Bulgarian television, which quoted a report of the Spanish ABC daily, according to which the prime minister tried to prevent the Spanish king from speaking in the parliament.

I do not hide the fact that I am against the monarchy as an institution, Prof. Berov said, but I always distinguish between the institution and the man. The claim that I have interfered in the matter of Juan Carlos' speech in the parliament is an absolute lie, the prime minister said. He also denied the report of the Bulgarian radio, according to which he and the president were booed upon leaving the parliament today. This is an unscrupulous war against the government on the part of a small group of people, the prime minister said.

Christian Democratic Leader on SDS Coalition

AU2405121393 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 17 May 93 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Stefan Sofiyanski, newly elected chairman of the United Christian Democratic Center, by Rositsa Raycheva; place and date not given: "New Face of United Christian Democratic Center"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Raycheva] Is it true that the United Christian Democratic Center was to be "dropped" by the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] if it did not change its leadership?

[Sofiyanski] The party's authority in both foreign and domestic policy is too great to link its remaining in the SDS coalition with any individual. Our potential is too great and our political views too clearly defined for us to be threatened with expulsion from the SDS.

[Raycheva] What is your attitude to Stoyan Ganev? There is some talk of making him the party's honorary president.

[Sofiyanski] We did not discuss this matter. There were many debates at our congress on 16 May at which extreme positions were stated, but everyone was given a patient hearing. The congress assessed the work of ex-chairman Ganev and what he has done for the SDS coalition. Proper mention was made of his active role in the former Grand National Assembly and his services at the last elections, in which the SDS was successful. His political errors were also noted. His absence from the country has hindered him from finding his way on the domestic political scene, and for this very reason Ganev made serious mistakes. The congress reached the common view that this prevents him from being a representative and effective leader of the party.

[Raycheva] Did Ventsislav Dimitrov, Verzhiniya Velcheva, and Ekaterina Mikhaylova withdraw their candidacies for the posts of deputy chairmen as a mark of their opposition to your election as chairman?

[Sofiyanski] No, I do not think so. We work very well together. I am very sorry about that, but it was their choice.

[Raycheva] Ganev's supporters reacted by claiming that the election was manipulated. You obtained 90 of the 153 votes, thus defeating famous names like Ilko Eskenazi, Ventsislav Dimitrov, and others.

[Sofiyanski] No one protested to me face to face. I will not answer allegations, because they are simply untrue.

[Raycheva] What will your attitude be to an agreement drawn up as an internal SDS document?

[Sofiyanski] The SDS does indeed have some purely structural, normative problems. They are both a hindrance and a reason for forming relations between individuals. We will insist on regulating these relationships, placing them within the framework of some of these purely normative relations. We should not repeat the mistakes made during our coalition relationship with the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS], in which the conditions were never defined. We need an agreement of this kind so as to prevent free interpretations from various motives.

[Raycheva] Do you think that there should be an internal coalition within the SDS of right-of-center parties against the left-of-center parties?

[Sofiyanski] There is room in the SDS for the different parties, but an agreement would be useful. We are all anti-communists and should unite our efforts.

[Raycheva] Have you anything else to say about the right-of-center movement?

[Sofiyanski] The leftist parties want the state to advance society. We believe that a poor state does not have the strength to do this. Therefore, individuals and their prosperity must rescue society, while the state will merely provide the framework, relinquishing the pure administration of all processes. Our party has its own program for all this.

[Raycheva] How will you solve the social problems that brook no delay?

[Sofiyanski] Our government, the SDS, and the others have not attempted to identify the socially disadvantaged. We got a little carried away by populist emotions in allocating aid. It is wrong for a healthy, strong 40-year-old man to receive social assistance. He should only be helped to start his own business or to find work. Then the socially disadvantaged will be identified as the sick, the old, the infirm, and children.

[Raycheva] Do you think the United Christian Democratic Center should be rehabilitated?

[Sofiyanski] I do not think it has done anything wrong. A sole individual made mistakes and he is paying a high price for them.

[Raycheva] How will you make up with Yanko Yankov, who thinks that everyone in this party is a former communist agent?

[Sofiyanski] I will not make up with him until he changes his opinion.

Outbreak of Foot-and-Mouth Disease Reported

AU2505123893 Sofia BTA in English 1140 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] May 25 (BTA)—There are cases of foot-and-mouth disease [FMD] in Bulgaria, Ministry of Agriculture senior official Rayko Petrunov said at a press briefing today. The cases are located near Simeonovgrad (southeastern Bulgaria), close to the Bulgarian-Turkish border. Making a comprehensive inspection in this region, the veterinary authorities located a FMD centre of infection. A part of a private farm with about 100 cows and 150 calves has been affected. The region has been isolated and all necessary measures have been taken to prevent the spread of the infection, experts of the Agricultural Ministry said. The infected animals will be killed and the remaining will be vaccinated. All necessary vaccines have been provided, according to experts of the veterinary service of the ministry.

Some time ago there were reports of the World Veterinary Service of cases of foot-and-mouth disease in Bulgaria which were refuted by the ministry. These are new developments and they have nothing to do with the previous reports, according to agricultural experts. They stressed the correctness of the Bulgarian side, which provided timely information on the case to the FAO, the European Community and the neighbouring countries. The Ministry of Agriculture will report on this case at the Council of Ministers today.

World Bank Official Confirms Readiness To Help

AU2105202293 Sofia BTA in English 1757 GMT 21 May 93

[Text] Sofia, May 21 (BTA)—The World Bank insists on working with Bulgaria, Mr. Michael Wiehen, regional director for Eastern Europe of the World Bank, told a news conference here today. He arrived at the head of a mission in Bulgaria on May 20.

The mission was intended to review the bank's operations in Bulgaria so far and the strategy of future action. Mission members met with Deputy Prime Ministers Valentin Karabashev and Evgeni Matinchev and held talks at the Ministries of Industry, Trade, Health, and Education, Science and Culture, at the National Bank of Bulgaria, the Privatization Agency, and with representatives of the parliamentary political forces.

Mr. Wiehen said the talks focused on the problems of privatization, state enterprises' restructuring, the banking reform, land restitution and the foreign debt talks. An emphasis was laid on the need of a realistic budget and the passage of some key legislation to qualify for World Bank assistance and sign an arrangement with the International Monetary Fund.

The bank's mission, which a week earlier conferred with cabinet members in Brussels, was left with the impression that the government has a strong reform programme. The privatization plans met with approval but the process must be speeded up. The same, according to Mr. Wiehen, applies to the restructuring of state-owned enterprises and land restitution. The first steps have been taken in the banking reform, but recently there has been some delay, which must be overcome. As to the foreign debt negotiations, Michael Wiehen believes that they are making progress. The World Bank is ready to help Bulgaria with extra loans to reach agreement with the commercial banks, he said.

Mr. Wiehen cited several figures to illustrate the work of the World Bank in Bulgaria: the 93 million dollar loan for power engineering, an agreement on which will be signed in the coming days, exploring opportunities for a 30 million dollar loan for telecommunications, and a 55 million dollar fesal [as received] loan for restructuring the financial sector. The mission met with officials of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs to discuss projects for assistance of job creation. The second tranche of the structural adjustment loan, to the amount of 100 million dollars, will be disbursed to Bulgaria after the completion of the banking reform and the consolidation of the banks and after the approval of the macroeconomic framework allowing a stand-by arrangement with the IMF, Mr. Wiehen said.

Simeon II Applauds Welcome for Spanish Monarch

AU2605070093 Sofia BTA in English 1936 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] Sofia, May 25 (BTA)—In his address to the Bulgarian people sent to BTA today, Bulgaria's last monarch, Simeon II, expresses his gratitude for the cordial welcome given to the royal Spanish couple. Before the visit of King Juan Carlos I and Queen Sophia of Spain, some papers published Simeon II's appeal for a cordial welcome of the royalties in Bulgaria.

According to Simeon II, the devotion to the monarchical institution demonstrated during the visit of King Juan Carlos I and Queen Sophia show that the champions of monarchy in Bulgaria are united despite their differences and that they account for more than 20 percent of Bulgarians as some analysts say.

Calling for unity and tolerance, Simeon II says in his address that "the king of the Bulgarians is really the king of all Bulgarians and this is one of the most valuable advantages of a parliamentarian monarchy." In the end he expresses his conviction that Bulgaria's prosperity requires the energy and the concerted effort of all political forces and all Bulgarians.

Havel To Undergo 'Minor' Operation

AU2605065493 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 22 May 93 p 2

["(li)"-signed report: "The President Will Be Hospitalized for One Week"]

[Text] Prague—President Vaclav Havel will be hospitalized from 27 May to 3 June after he undergoes a surgical operation that has been planned for several months. Presidential Spokesman Ladislav Spacek did not give details of the operation. He said that the operation was minor. The president plans to return to work on 4 June.

Havel Returns From Working Visit to Greece

LD2605083593 Prague CTK in English 0658 GMT 26 May 93

[Text] Prague, May 26 (CTK)—Czech President Vaclav Havel returned on Tuesday from a three-day working visit to Greece, with a promise from Athens that it will support Prague's bid to integrate itself into European structures.

Havel said Greece realised the importance of including the countries of central Europe into a democratic Europe as quickly as possible. He added that history showed that there could be no peace and security in Europe without stability in its centre.

Greek Premier Konstandinos Mitsotakis told a press conference after talks with Havel that the Czech Republic sought closer ties to the European Community (EC) and NATO. He expressed understanding for Prague's efforts to become a non-permanent member of the United Nations' Security Council for 1994-95.

Greek Deputy Foreign Minister Viryinia Tsoudherou told her Czech counterpart Pavel Bratinka that she would like Greece to ratify the Czech Republic's association agreement with the EC by this autumn. Bratinka said the Czech Republic attached great importance to ratification of its association status by EC member states.

Greece expressed some concern over its trade deficit with the Czech Republic, which amounted to 100 million USD last year. Bratinka pointed to the conflict in the former Yugoslavia as an impediment to trade and tourism between Greece and the Czech Republic.

Havel accepted the Athens 93 prize on Monday, presented to the Czech president by the Onassis Foundation for his service to mankind and his struggle for human rights and democracy. The prize carries an award of 100,000 USD.

Klaus Claims Environmental Decline Curbed

AU2405153593 Prague CTK in English 1808 GMT 19 May 93

[Text] Prague, May 19 (CTK)—The accelerating decline of the environment has been curbed in the Czech Republic, Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus said today, referring to the fact that the Czech cabinet approved a report on the environmental situation.

The accelerating pollution of the environment typical for the 1980's is over, Klaus told a press conference following today's session of the Czech Government.

He referred to indicators showing the decline of the main polluting substances. The emission of solid pollutants dropped 12 percent, of sulphur oxides 11 percent, and of nitrogen oxides 21 percent, Klaus said. However, he was unable to pinpoint to what extent pollution still exceeds standards.

At its session, the government also heard a report on nuclear safety oversight. All decisive safety demands were met at all the Czech Republic's nuclear facilities in 1992, according to the report.

Croatia's Bosnian Involvement Cited for Visas

AU2505085493 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 19 May 93 p 2

["li"-signed report: "Croatian Role in the War Affects the Visa Verdict"]

[Text] Prague—The government came to the decision to introduce obligatory visas for Croats following a certain unexpected twist to the Yugoslav conflict, Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus told us yesterday. The cabinet, which came out in favor of the introduction of visas for travelers from all the states of former Yugoslavia apart from Slovenia, was also influenced by the Croats escalating their military activity against the Muslim parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina at the time of the decision.

"All this combined to evoke in the cabinet a feeling that only Slovenia can realistically be separated from former Yugoslavia," the prime minister said.

The original submission by the Foreign and Interior Ministries, which were also considering the introduction of obligatory visas for Romania and the nine Asian republics of the CIS, did not envisage visas for Croatian citizens. The final decision on the visa issue will depend on the outcome of talks with Slovakia, necessary because of the Czech-Slovak treaty on harmonizing the administration of visa matters between the two countries.

Klaus said yesterday that he did not wish the eventual introduction of visas significantly to worsen relations between the Czech Republic and Croatia.

Deputy Interior Minister Martin Fendrych told us yesterday that he is hoping for some governmental decisions

to change, and that the introduction of visas for travel from Croatia would be one of them.

Zieleniec Reports on Visit to Italy

AU2505122593 Prague CTK in English 1934 GMT 21 May 93

[Text] Rome, May 21 (CTK)—Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec and other Czech representatives ended their working visit to Italy today and returned to the Czech Republic.

Zieleniec took part in discussions of the Consultation Forum of the Western European Union on relations between member states and those of Central and Eastern Europe.

The Consultation Forum is one of the mechanisms which is assisting to overcome the trauma of the former division of Europe, Zieleniec said.

He also said that the new Italian Government supported the Czech Republic's early admission to the European Community. This represents a significant change in position, he said, since until now Italy has always opposed expansion of the EC. The change in Italy's domestic political situation has caused the change in its position on the EC.

Zieleniec also said Italy understands the Czech viewpoint that EC countries must open their markets to Central and Eastern European goods. We continue to emphasize that the connection of the new democracies to the European organism is not only a political question, but a commercial matter, he said.

Ruml: Czech-Slovak Border Talks 'at Deadlock'

AU2505122193 Prague CTK in English 1907 GMT 21 May 93

[Text] Cesky Dub, North Bohemia, May 21 (CTK)—Czech Interior Minister Jan Ruml today said that talks on the Czech-Slovak border were at a deadlock though some rational proposals had been offered by the Slovaks.

Ruml who arrived here to attend a meeting of the ruling Civic Democratic Party (ODS) Executive Council to start Saturday [22 May] morning, told journalists that a decisive step in Czech-Slovak negotiations on the border administration had not yet been made. He said summer was high season for migration. For many people who come here the Czech Republic serves merely as a transit country because they are bound for the West. Many of those who fail to cross to Western countries frequently remain on our territory, which subsequently worsens our security situation, Ruml said.

He said the current difficult security situation in the Czech Republic would certainly affect municipal elections to be held next year and that is why the ODS Executive Council should deal with the problem now.

Privatization Minister on Talks in U.S.

LD2505110393 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 0800 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] Privatization Minister Jiri Skalicky discussed loans for our economy in Washington. During his meeting with Kamal Darwish, World Bank director for Central Europe, he appealed to the bank to soften its demands on government guarantees on all loans to the Czech Republic. According to Minister Skalicky, the United States requires our government to guarantee, especially, the loans earmarked for the completion of the nuclear power plant in Temelin [south Bohemia].

In a discussion with (Jeffrey Shaffer), acting under secretary for international affairs in the Department of the Treasury, Minister Skalicky emphasized the advantage of the deal for the United States. He said that the U.S. side itself should be interested in taking over a certain part of the guarantees, as long as these were required by the Westinghouse company [involved in Temelin completion] and the financial institutions.

Baudys Says Army's Weapons Unsatisfactory

AU2605113993 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 22 May 93 pp 1, 3

["(li)"-signed report "Most of the Arms Do Not Correspond to Army's Task, Baudys Says"]

[Text] Prague—The training planes, heavy trucks, and Tatra driver's cabins with which the Czech Army is equipped, have specifications comparable to those found in the armies of advanced countries. According to Defense Minister Baudys, products of radio-technology used for detection, chemical and radiation protection, and some hand-held arms also match the level in West European armies. The minister said this after interpellation by Deputy Jaroslav Novak.

Reaching the level of arms and technology that would allow realistic consideration of the Czech Republic's joining NATO would require at least 20 billion korunas every year for the next twelve years or so.

On the other hand, the structure and parameters of the Army's weapons and technology do not correspond to the role of the Army in securing the defense of the state under the new conditions.

Minister Baudys also said that the situation in the Air Force and air defense was also intolerable; there are problems with command and communications, and problems in anti-tank defense, rocket troops, artillery, and most of the automobile technology.

The minister said that weapons and technology will be modernized using domestic industry, since domestic production is on average three or four times less expensive than imports.

Until 1989 the Czechoslovak Army was built as a front-line assault army. The character and origin of most of the equipment and technology corresponds to that fact. "Since 1989 the financial resources for arming have been reduced. The consequence is that in the two previous years the deliveries of new types of weapons and technology were practically stopped. Not even spare parts are being bought in a sufficient quantity for repairs," the minister says.

The ministry's budget was less than 23 billion korunas this year, which should be, by estimate, some 3 percent of gross domestic product in the Czech Republic. This percentage does not exceed the European average, according to Baudys. The costs for defense made up 3.1 percent of gross yearly product in France, 1.9 percent in Italy, 4.8 percent in Great Britain, 4.7 percent in Poland, and 3.8 percent in Hungary.

Minister Seeks Acceptable Credits for Farmers

AU2605121493 Prague CTK in English 1746 GMT 22 May 93

[Text] Zdar nad Sazavou, South Moravia, May 22 (CTK)—Czech Agriculture Minister Josef Lux said today that Czech farmers work in a one hundred percent competitive environment which could not be compared with conditions of other economic branches that make use of it.

Addressing the first conference of the Czech-Moravian union of agricultural cooperatives, Lux said that though supply of agricultural products currently almost meets demand, the situation might change within a year or two. He said that it was not Western producers that represent the greatest danger for Czech farmers but Baltic states and Ukraine, which could soon flood the market with cheaper food products. He said he saw the solution in state subsidies either on prices or on farmers' incomes. The government is responsible for creating a favorable macro-economic environment, Lux added.

Lux said he was convinced that the food market in the Czech Republic should be regulated. He said western markets are regulated to a considerable extent, Eastern markets are blocked and therefore about 4.3 million hectares of untilled land in the Czech Republic cannot be used in the conditions of the free market. Lux added that the extent of market regulation is currently being discussed by the government.

The rate of the Czech market's protection could be compared with Western European countries, Lux said, adding that the problem lies in the fact the prices of domestic products in the west are more heavily subsidized than in the Czech Republic. He said that the Czech Republic exports far more agricultural products than it imports.

Lux said that the Ministry of Agriculture is now striving to see that Czech farmers receive a state loan on acceptable conditions as soon as this year. This means that the credit should be provided for at least eight to ten years, at a 10-percent interest rate at most, Lux added.

Report on Electronic Surveillance by BIS

AU2605090093 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 21 May 93 p 2

["(km)"-signed report: "The Counterintelligence Service Has Listened In One Hundred Times This Year"]

[Text] Prague—Since the beginning of the year, the Security and Information Service [BIS] has been granted permission in just under 100 cases to use intelligence gathering equipment, including bugging devices. Prosecutor General Jiri Setina told us this yesterday, adding that he had approved these actions personally. He said that prosecutors had authorized the Criminal Police Force and the Economic Interests Protection Service to install the necessary surveillance equipment in another 103 cases.

According to Setina, prior to his appointment there had been some undesirable leaks of information regarding the authorization to plant "bugs." The revelation that an individual was under surveillance complicated—and often made impossible—the work, for example, of the counterintelligence service. Regional prosecutors had previously granted the secret service permission to install bugging devices and intelligence-gathering equipment. Now the system has been tightened and only the prosecutor general can give the counterintelligence service this kind of permission.

Setina told us that—so far—he has complied with every request from BIS Director Stanislav Devaty to use intelligence-gathering equipment.

According to the law, the Criminal Police Force, the Economic Interests Protection Service, and the BIS may plant listening devices and use operational or intelligence-gathering equipment. The police may use this equipment if a particularly serious crime is involved and the counterintelligence service may use it to protect the state. The conditions under which bugging devices may be authorized are, according to Setina, precisely defined by law.

Neither Devaty nor Interior Minister Jan Ruml have discounted the possibility that some private detective agencies and security firms may use bugging devices illegally. Ruml, however, is not aware of any cases in which private security firms in the Czech Republic have planted bugs in political or financial circles.

Ruml has confirmed that some officials are concerned that they are being bugged. He said that several ministers and deputies have come to him recently and told him that "there is a strange crackling sound in their telephones." According to Ruml, in not one case have any bugging devices been found.

Treaty With Slovakia Hinders German Treaty

AU2505145493 Prague TELEGRAF in Czech 22 May 93 pp 1, 3

["(sr)"-signed report: "The Treaty With Germany Depends on the Slovak Republic"]

[Excerpt] Prague—As Deputy Interior Minister Martin Fendrych told journalist at a news conference yesterday, the German Interior Ministry presented the Czech side with a draft treaty on the readmission of people from third countries (the so-called Readmission Treaty) on Monday [17 May]. Based on this fact, M. Fendrych participated in talks in Germany, where he dealt with his counterpart, Vocking.

As M. Fendrych said further, a principal accord on all points of the discussed treaty has not been reached, and the Czech side even intends to delete some paragraphs in the draft. The Czech side is still insisting on the fact that the readmission treaty, the agreement on assistance, and both procedural protocols should be signed at the same time. "We are insisting on the fact that all four documents should come into force at the same time."

M. Fendrych described, as the cause for one of the most serious disputes, the fact that in the draft there is a different period within which the migrants can be returned to the Czech Republic if it is proven that they came to Germany from there. The Czech side insists on a three-month period—which is what the readmission treaty with Poland says—while the German side wants to fix a six-month period. "We have reached no agreement here," M. Fendrych said. Discussion on this period should be conducted between Interior Minister J. Ruml and German Interior Minister Seiters, who should present arguments supporting this German stance. "However, it must not happen that the talks fail because of this single issue," he added.

At the meeting with Fendrych, the Germans also presented a draft international treaty on cooperation over solving the consequences of migration, which should contain a form of material and technical assistance. Martin Fendrych said that he had rejected the part of the treaty which could result, according to him, in the Czech Republic having to take over some obligations in the sphere of the German asylum-granting procedure. The treaty will therefore only apply to assistance in communication and transportation media and technology, and organizational and financial help applicable to the prevention of an uncontrolled crossing of the state borders.

The German side insisted that the treaty should come into force one month after it is signed. The Czech side, on the other hand, has not waived its demand that the treaty should come into force only after a treaty has been signed with Slovakia on establishing and operating border crossings. "The Germans have acceded to this, in fact," M. Fendrych added. However, the Germans expressed worries regarding the date when these talks will be ended. The Czech side does not intend to recommend to the German side that they exert political pressure on the Slovak side in this issue. [passage omitted]

Army Reportedly Faces Officer Shortage

AU2605103293 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 22 May 93 p 2

[Jan Gazdik report: "Will the Army Survive Until the Year 2000?"]

[Text] The former elite Karlovy Vary division is half-paralyzed today, soldiers are saying. The reason is quite prosaic: There is no one to command their platoons and squads.

F. Greiner, commander of the personnel administration of the Defense Ministry, admits that the Karlovy Vary unit had become a problem that the Army is unable to solve at present. Only 61 percent of the required professional soldiers are being recruited for this unit, while officers at their most productive age are leaving.

German entrepreneurs know the capabilities of the officers who are leaving. With a few exceptions, they are people capable of managing large numbers of people and making decisions in conditions of chaos, they are used to unlimited workloads, and they only need to discuss the tasks they have been given briefly. Those are the main reasons why entrepreneurs are offering work to soldiers for incomparably better conditions.

Greiner admitted that, at present, soldiers are leaving voluntarily. He described as a myth the LIDOVE NOVINY story that, as of now, 8,000 commanders have applied for transfers to the reserves (some sources even speak about 15,000, which would grossly reduce the planned numbers of the corps of commanders). Since the beginning of this year, 1,447 officers and 10 generals have left, Greiner stated.

Meciar Wants To Model HZDS on U.S. Democratic Party

AU2405152393 Prague CTK in English 0724 GMT 20 May 93

[Text] Washington, May 20 (CTK correspondent)—No firm border should exist between the Czech and Slovak Republics, U.S. House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee members think, Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar told CTK on Wednesday [19 May].

Meciar, on a five-day unofficial visit to the United States since Monday, met with members of the committee, led by chairman Lee Hamilton.

A standard border between the two countries has been urged by the Czech Republic in view of illegal migrants entering its territory via Slovakia. The establishment of such a border was not originally envisaged as Czechoslovakia split as of January 1, 1993.

He told CTK that his visit had come at the eleventh hour with regard to the formation of views on Slovakia and its image among U.S. political and expert circles.

Meciar highly praised his meeting with former President James Carter's National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski, who made it clear that the United States was waiting for clear proofs of Slovakia's transition to market economy to be provided quickly.

Meciar reiterated his view that the philosophy of the program of his Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) was the same like that of the program of President Bill Clinton and the U.S. Democratic Party.

He indicated the wish to build in Slovakia a party similar to the Democratic Party of the United States.

Meciar said that calming Slovakia's political scene and restructuring the state administration will be his major tasks after his return from the United States. He added the latter task would be painful.

Meciar ruled out holding early elections which are being urged by some Slovak parties.

During a lunch with senators and representatives of the Congress [from the] Democratic Party, Meciar received a letter of greetings from President Clinton.

Discusses Privatization

LD2405134193 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 24 May 93

[Excerpts] Many interesting ideas were voiced at a news conference given by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar and other members of the government's delegation immediately after their return from the United States at Bratislava airport on Saturday [21 May].

According to information that appeared in our press during the working visit, the prime minister had allegedly promised that after his return to the homeland, he would make immediate preparations to speed up the privatization process in our country.

Responding to a Radiozurnal question as to what these measures will be, and whether he thinks they correspond to the concept implemented by [Slovak Privatization] Minister Lubomir Dolgos, Vladimir Meciar said this was the case and went on to say:

[Begin Meciar recording] As far as speeding up privatization is concerned, there is a need to change our approach to it from the viewpoint of opening ourselves more to foreign partners. To be specific, during our talks in the United States we received several suggestions or offers that tower above the sums proposed by our management in privatization projects, and when foreign partners approach companies, where management wants to carry out privatization, they are simply not given access to information, and they are not permitted to proceed any further. So, there is a conflict of ownership interests and the state is thus getting into a poor situation.

Furthermore, our approach to a speedy privatization should be aimed at speeding up the process of restructuring. Privatization will be a part of this process. [passage omitted]

The third thing we must do is change the laws, because the practice of dividing work on a horizontal level among many stages means in essence that no one is happy, and we cannot find who specifically does what, either. Corporate thinking should also be changed. [passage omitted]

Thus there is an objective need to establish a link between existing domestic and international interests. However, a strategy that will cover entire industries will have to be worked out. This means that chemical and construction industries, as well as metallurgy, will have to have their own strategy; each industry will have to have its own production plan. The situation is most urgent in armament production and heavy engineering, where there is a world-wide crisis.

All these are steps that should be made in a short space of time. Other methods could be made use of, such as leasing payments. We have already opened credit lines [uverovy ramec] of the National Bank of Slovakia, and so the money is available. [Words indistinct] The only point where there is a slight difference between my view, and the view held by Minister Dolgos, is staff participation in privatization projects. I advocate that the staff share should be bigger with the premise that what is left be put together and distributed once again.

Although the number of privatized companies is lower, they contribute 22 percent to the national income, this is quite a lot. That is why in the United States they were surprised at this figure; this figure is correct. They were also surprised to hear that all indicators contained in statistical data for March showed growth, a very marked growth. So things are beginning to look up [words indistinct], the baby is alive and well, it is kicking, and all it needs is to take another breath of air. [end recording]

Kovac Addresses Democratic Left Congress

AU2505124493 Prague CTK in English 1352 GMT 22 May 93

[Text] Zilina, west Slovakia, May 22 (CTK)—Slovak President Michal Kovac said today that the political situation in Western Europe would have been different without modern left-wing policy based on the principle of democratic socialism.

Speaking at the Democratic Left Party's (SDL) two-day second congress, Kovac stressed that successful policies of democratic left-oriented parties have long since fully legalized the left on the political scene of advanced countries.

He said that as a president seeking social tranquility in his country, he praised the constructive stand of the SDL which helps balance the current political situation in the Slovak Republic.

Czech Ministry Demands Explanation From Meciar

LD2505161893 Prague CTK in English 1534 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] Bratislava, May 25 (CTK)—The Slovak Foreign Ministry is thoroughly studying the wording of the Czech note which it has received from the Czech Foreign Ministry and which demands an explanation of Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar's statement about possible suspension of oil supplies to the Czech Republic.

Roman Buzek, the Slovak ministry's press spokesman, told CTK today that the ministry was preparing a reply to the note, but denied to specify when it would be completed. He only said that the reply would be given to the Czech party through usual diplomatic channels soon.

CTK learned today from well informed sources close to the Foreign Ministry that the Slovak party might not react to the note at all.

Asked whether this could happen, Buzek said: I will not answer this question.

Meciar said in an interview published by the German weekly DER SPIEGEL on May 17 that the Czechs should not forget that all the energy they receive comes through Slovakia. If there were a break up in the supply of oil, they wouldn't last more than ten days.

He was recting to Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus's statement in which he had called absurd Slovak claims to a portion of the former federal gold.

The Czech Foreign Ministry passed to the Slovaks on May 19 a note in which it demanded an explanation of Meciar's statement.

Meciar said after his return from an unofficial five-day visit to the United States on Saturday that he did not know the contents of the Czech note, but that he would answer it.

He pointed out that Slovaks will probably ask the Czechs to explain some of their moves which will be a much worse account than the explanation of some statements.

Interior Minister Discusses New Police Law

LD2505204993 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 25 May 93

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Correspondent Jarmila Tosecka has prepared a report from the news conference given by the Slovak Government after its 51st session held today.

[Tosecka] One of the first draft laws the government debated and approved today was the so-called police law. It is significantly related to the emergence of the Slovak Republic. It transfers the responsibilities of internal order and security from the federal level to the police corps of the Slovak Republic. The main task is the protection of state borders, the campaign against terrorism, protection of diplomatic premises, and so on. Interior Minster Jozef Tuchyna supplied the following details:

[Begin Tuchyna recording] The law sets out additional concepts, such as detention in order to identify—which can last for up to 24 hours—the right to keep aliens in custody pending expulsion for up to 30 days, interim confiscation of objects to ascertain their origin, and the use of the Slovak Army's regular soldiers who could be redeployed by the Ministry of the Interior to protect the state border. The latter case will also apply in special cases when order needs to be maintained. [end recording]

[Tosecka] Minister of Foreign Affairs Jozef Moravcik informed the Cabinet and journalists on the setting up of an international expert group to monitor the status of the Hungarian national minority living in the Slovak Republic and the Slovak national minority living in Hungary. The expert group has been set up at the instigation of the CSCE High Commissioner for National Minorities.

The group will work on the basis of mutual agreement on the territories of both states over the period of two years. Its significance rests mainly in the fact that its conclusions are to form the basis for a wider pan-European security project, as the national minorities issue is closely related to European security.

Asked by journalists, the majority of whom represented Czech dailies, whether the Slovak Republic was—like the Czech Republic—considering an agreement with Germany on the funding of reinforcing the border between the Czech and Slovak Republics, Tuchyna replied:

[Begin Tuchyna recording] We have adjusted border controls everywhere except on the Czech border. The border with Hungary has been reinforced by regular soldiers and the border with Ukraine is solid and secure.

I can even tell you that barriers have been erected on the Ukrainian side. Crossing can only be done at border checkpoints. All accusations that this border is not secured are therefore groundless.

As for the Czech-Slovak border, we are well aware that the Czech Republic, like any other sovereign state, has the right to express its sovereignty and independence by creating a border. If the Czech Republic decides to close the border, we are not against it. [passage omitted]

The final closing of the border is prevented by two agreements which we have concluded with the Czech Republic. One, endorsed by the parliaments of both countries, is the agreement on visa-free travel. It says that our citizens can cross the border at any point. Moreover, personal identity books [obcansky preukaz] are recognized as travel documents. [passage omitted] [end recording] [Tosecka] A topical question was asked about the progress of drafting the reply of the Slovak side to the protest note by Minister Zieleniec [concerning Slovak Premier Meciar's statement on cutting oil supplies to the Czech Republic]. Zieleniec's Slovak counterpart, Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik, replied: [Begin Moravcik recording] One must stress that the note delivered to us is not a protest. At the present we are considering what form the explanation should take. It will be along the same lines as the stance we have already presented. A statement like this cannot be met by doubting the basic intentions between our two countries, namely to create a reliable partnership. [end recording]

Parliament Approves Tax Exemptions

AU2505163993 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 21 May 93 pp 1, 2

[Report by Stefan Hrcka: "No Tax on Interest on Foreign Currency"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava—The most important result of yesterday's second day of the 19th meeting of the National Council of the Slovak Republic is the tax exemption approved by the deputies in the amendment to the law on income tax.

The amendment to the income tax law was approved by the deputies shortly after the noon recess and after a relatively short debate. This amendment states that the following items will be tax free for individuals (citizens):

—interest on income from foreign currency accounts and saving books in foreign currencies,
—the yield from state debentures [bonds],
—the income of graduates of colleges and universities oriented on agricultural production, forest and water economy, engaged in business or other entrepreneurial activities—given by specific regulations—if they began their entrepreneurial activity within one year after having graduated from the school. This applies to the year in which they became active and the two years after that. The period of the basic (or substitute) military service is not included in the period to which the tax relief applies.

The tax exemption will apply to legal entities (organizations) in the case of the yield from government bonds. The finance minister said, on this subject, that this amendment has far reaching financial consequences. It anticipates that higher deposits in foreign currencies in Slovakia and the participation of private individuals and organizations in financing joint actions will compensate the lost income due to the tax exemptions. [passage omitted]

Information was provided by Finance Minister J. Toth on the draft report on the state budget in the first quarter of 1993. He said that on 31 March income reached 25.3 billion korunas, which is 16 percent of the yearly budget, and spending 36.3 billion korunas, which is 23 percent of the entire budget. Deficit was caused by inadequate income, while some enterprises with secondary debt [druhotne zadlzene podniky] filed their taxes, but have no funds to pay them. On 18 May, our republic's income was 45 billion korunas, and spending 58 billion korunas, that is, the deficit was 13 billion korunas. In their speeches regarding the information provided by the minister, deputies debated the steps to take to return planned income to the budget. They pointed to the fact that the educational and health care systems suffer particularly from the lack of funds from the state budget. J. Toth informed the deputies that there are several bills being prepared to secure income.

Deputies also decided yesterday to establish the Committee for the Privatization of the National Council of the Slovak Republic and they completed the commission dealing with problems of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water dam system. New members are: Tomas Cingel, Stanislav Sarossy (both are from the For a Democratic Slovakia Movement), Milan Knazko (Club of Independent Deputies), Jan Masarik (Christian Democratic Movement), Robert Fico (Party of the Democratic Left), and Viliam Sojka (Slovak National Party). During the voting, Pal Csaky failed to pass. Today, the meeting continues.

Government Approves Economic Bills

LD2505215393 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1930 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] The government of the Slovak Republic, meeting at its 51st session today, approved a draft program of comprehensive support for small and medium-sized businesses. The government also approved the draft principles concerning deliberations on free trade between the Slovak Republic, the Czech Republic, and Slovenia. This agreement is to create commercial and political prerequisites for the desired development of mutual trade.

The government also amended and approved a report on the state of agricultural land contamination with heavy metals and other alien substances; this type of contamination is typical of the main sources and consequences of land contamination in Slovakia.

Having discussed the National Council bill on the ownership of apartments and nonresidential premises, the government returned the bill for redrafting.

Official Discusses Duties of Security Council

LD2505155793 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GM 25 May 93

[Excerpts] The Slovak Government met in Bratislava today after a two-week break due to Prime Minister Meciar's trip to the United States and trips abroad by other ministers. This is probably reflected in the large number of items on the government's agenda. Our reporter Jarmila Tosecka, reporting from the government's headquarters, has more details:

[Tosecka] [passage omitted] The government is meeting, with Vladimir Meciar in the chair. At the start he and Deputy Prime Minister Roman Kovac gave a report on the results of their working visit to the United States. Afterwards the government devoted almost two hours to a debate on the constititional bill on the National Security Council of the Slovak Republic. The government then approved the bill with comments. I have asked Colonel Bohumir Gerinec, secretary of the State Defense Council and director of the Department of Defense and Security at the Office of the Government of the Slovak Republic, about the importance of this constitutional bill, which requires the approval of a three-fifths majority of the National Council.

[Begin recording] [Gerinec] If approved by the National Council of the Slovak Republic, this bill will replace existing Law 10 of 1969 on the State Defense Council. Its importance lies in the fact that the State Defense Council, according to the legal norm currently in operation, focuses its activity above all on making preparations for the defense of the state and ensuring the defense readiness of the state. In the spirit of this bill, the aim of the National Security Council will be to react to all exceptional situations that occur on the territory of the Slovak Republic. This includes disasters, catastrophies, and ecological disasters, and it will also be linked to the protection of the environment. It will naturally have prepared reactions to any situation that might arise if the defense readiness of the state is declared to be linked to preparations for the defense of the state.

[Tosecka] What kind of position will the National Security Council have within the framework of state bodies? Could you illustrate this point?

[Gerinec] The National Security Council is an organ of the state which will formulate fundamental concepts which it will in turn put forward for implementation in preparing defenses against possible exceptional situations and in preparing protective measures against the various possible disasters that could occur, including ecological ones, as well as those tasks taken within the framework of preparations for the defense of the state. On the basis of these approved concepts the Council will then, by its decisions, give tasks to other sectors of the state administration to continue and work out these concepts within their own areas to forestall such disasters, as well as in tackling specific situations that might occur.

Within the framework of the territorial division, territorial national security councils will be established at the level of the present districts. In the spirit of the National Security Council's decision, they will discharge their tasks of protecting their respective territory as well as tasks that will be given to them within the framework of their mission.

[Tosecka] We have a civil defense. How will the operations of the State Defense Council and the civil defense be interlinked?

[Gerinec] According to the law, the civil defense provides for the protection of property and persons, the population of our state in general. In such exceptional situations, as the executive body it will provide for the discharging of tasks given to it by the law which are directed toward preparing such defenses and eliminating the consequences of such disasters as may emerge. The Natinoal Security Council, as the organ of the state, will approve fundamental measures on how the civil defense is to proceed and, in the situations as they emerge, it will coordinate activities and assign fundamental tasks to the civil defense.

[Tosecka] The National Security Council is therefore a superior body?

[Gerinec] It is indeed a superior body. [end recording]

[Tosecka] After a break the government managed to discuss another five items, another five bills, for instance on court fees, state statistics, and the amendment to the bill on the disciplinary responsibility of judges. It approved all five of these bills. [passage omitted]

Trade Surplus, Economic Slump Recorded

AU2505165593 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 21 May 93 p 3

["(mik)"-signed report: "Is the Bottom Already Within Reach?"]

[Text] Bratislava—At yesterday's news briefing, Statistical Office Chairman Rudolf Krc gave a report on developments in the Slovak economy in March 1993. It is obvious from the preliminary results that the Slovak economy is still on a downward slope. Compared with February, however, the negative trends slowed down in March. The rise in prices, inflation, and the cost of living have tapered off.

Output in industry and construction have risen (however, recovery in the latter may be associated more with meteorological conditions) and the volume of goods shipped has also increased. The fact that—according to the Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs, and the Family—the number of unemployed in Slovakia fell in April for

the first time is also not without interest. The unemployment rate in March was 12.01 percent and in April it was 11.96 percent. That is, there were 304,682 unemployed in April, which is 1,408 fewer than in March.

Krc referred to an interesting fact at the press briefing. The first joint enterprises with foreign capital participation are beginning to fold in Slovakia. To date, this involves smaller companies. Sixteen of these enterprises with capital amounting to 8.2 million korunas have already folded and another 9 organizations with capital amounting to 26.5 million korunas are in liquidation. This is not a good sign.

Slovakia's foreign trade in the first quarter of 1993 developed relatively favorably. Commodities worth 24.2 billion korunas were imported into the republic and we exported goods worth 25.4 billion korunas. Therefore, we have an active balance of 1.2 billion korunas. If we compare this result with the same period last year then imports have declined by 29.8 percent and our exports have declined by just under 1 percent. During the first three months of the year, we also had an active balance with the Czech Republic amounting to 0.3 billion korunas. Exports to the Czech Republic amounted to 9.1 billion korunas, which is 35.9 percent of Slovakia's total exports. However, an important advancement in our active trade balance with the Czech Republic was made in January and February. March was not so favorable.

Industrial output in March amounted to 34.6 billion korunas and, in comparison with February, has increased (at comparable prices) by an amazing 25.9 percent. However, in comparison with March 1992, output was some 11.6 percent lower.

Foreign capital invested in enterprises in Slovakia amounted to $268 million at the end of March. The Austrians are most active in investing in our country, followed by the Germans and the Americans. The Czech Republic is in fourth place.

Consumer Prices, Cost of Living Increase

AU2505164193 Bratislava HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 21 May 93 p 4

[Report compiled by the Statistical Office: "Developments in Consumer Prices and the Cost of Living in the Slovak Republic in April"]

[Text] Consumer prices in April increased by 1.2 percent in comparison with March. The most significant increases were recorded in the cost of services, by 3.4 percent, and in nonfood products, by 1.2 percent. The cost of food products increased by 0.1 percent and of public catering by 1.1 percent.

In services, transportation prices increased most significantly—by 16.6 percent—due to a 12.3-percent increase in the cost of railroad, bus, and air transportation and communications, especially the 44.6-percent increase in telephone charges. Rent costs and local services charges increased by 1.8 percent.

In nonfood products, prices increased in all categories of goods monitored. The highest price increases were recorded in the footwear and leather goods categories, by 2.4 percent, in the health care, sanitary, and cosmetics products categories, by 2.0 percent, and in the household goods category, by 1.8 percent. In the other nonfood categories, price increases in April hovered between 0.2 and 1.6 percent, mainly as a consequence of increased prices within the framework of the assortment of goods sold.

Lower prices for meat and meat products, by 1.8 percent, eggs and egg products, by 2.9 percent, and fats, by 0.2 percent, slowed down price increases in food products. In the other food-product categories, the price increases ranged from 0.4 percent to 1.9 percent.

In public catering, canteen prices increased by 0.6 percent and restaurant prices increased by 1.1 percent.

During the four months of this year, consumer prices (compared to December 1992) have increased by an average of 11.2 percent. The pace of the monthly price increases had a downward trend (8.9 percent in January, 1.6 percent in February, 1.0 percent in March), but in April it increased by 1.2 percent. The smallest increases since the beginning of the year (compared to December 1992) were in food products, by an average of 8.7 percent, and in nonfood products, by an average of 9.2 percent. The costs of services rose more significantly, by 13.8 percent. Prices in public catering rose by an average of 23.8 percent.

From the long-term perspective, prices in April were 134.4 percent higher than in January 1989.

The developments in consumer prices have also influenced the cost of living, which, in comparison with March, increased by 1.0 percent in April in workers' and farmers' households. The cost of living in pensioners' households increased by 0.9 percent, specifically as a result of the trend in food costs, which are of more importance in these households.

Antall Returns Home From Visit to Denmark

LD2505153593 Budapest MTI in English 1457 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] Budapest, May 25 (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall and his wife, invited on an official visit to Denmark by the Danish prime minister and his wife, returned to Hungary on Tuesday afternoon [25 May].

Whilst in Denmark, Antall was accompanied by Laszlo Medgyasszay, political state secretary of agriculture, Janos Martonyi, state secretary of foreign affairs, Endre Marinovich, cabinet chief, Gyula Kodolanyi, foreign policy advisor to the prime minister, Janos Herman, state secretary and Foreign Ministry spokesman, and Laszlo Demus, Hungarian ambassador to Denmark.

Finance Minister Views New Economic Program

AU2505120193 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 20 May 93 p 11

[Interview with Finance Minister Ivan Szabo by Gabor Ferencz; place and date not given: "The Package Deal Is Not Antisocial"]

[Text] [Ferencz] What is your opinion about the reaction to your speech in parliament on 17 May? It seems that a change has taken place in the position of the opposition parties, because, while a slim promise of support was still discernible from the opposition speeches on 17 May, they categorically refused to support the program the following day.

[Szabo] One can only find out whether a meal causes a stomach ache or a pleasant feeling by eating it. I think it is natural that a parliamentary opposition never votes in favor of a budget, and the differences in economic and political views can best be expressed through the "no" votes on the budget. However, I must add that I also see some positive signs in some of the current attacks, because it also transpired from the commentaries of the opposition that they regard the planned restrictive measures as too little and too mild, rather than too much. In my opinion, the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] very seriously believes that it will be an element in the government after the next elections. This party's readiness for negotiations, or at least the declaration of this readiness, shows that the FIDESZ does not want to engage in irresponsible politics.

[Ferencz] You find it natural for the opposition to reject the proposal. Do you also find it natural that the coalition will support the proposal?

[Szabo] Not all of them, but it seemed at the joint meeting of the coalition factions that we can get the necessary support. This does not mean that perhaps 10 or 15 deputies might not vote against the program, but the majority of deputies are aware of the seriousness of the issue. In my opinion, the opposition is also strongly rooting for the proposal to "pass" because this could save those who think that they will get into the government after the elections from a lot of unpleasantness. Let me be cynical: Even if the proposal nevertheless fails to get a majority vote, we will only have to wait a few months and it will be adopted, because I do not think the IMF will change its philosophy and declare after the elections that this agreement only refers to the current government. Thus, those who would now vote "no" would be forced to change their position.

[Ferencz] How united is the government in supporting this program? Is there a danger that the conflict of interests among the various economic ministries might disturb the work?

[Szabo] There have always been ministry interests, and there always will be. When I took over the Finance Ministry, I also made three abortive attempts slowly to collect the funds missing from the budget by "milking" the ministries, but then I changed this strategy. A full government consensus emerged before our talks with the IMF on what figures are acceptable, and I have not deviated from this.

[Ferencz] What was it that you could not accept?

[Szabo] The IMF wanted to "push down" the proportion of the budget deficit related to the GDP, which we proposed to be 5.6 percent. The IMF also gave us a "menu" on how to do this. This included a further reduction in the budget support of self-governing bodies and the reduction of cultural and welfare subsidies. This was the point where I became stubborn, although my negotiating partners warned us that we might be jeopardizing the reorganization credit available from the international financial organizations in the coming year and a half, a credit worth $1.2-1.4 billion. I took a card on the existing 19 and it became 21 [reference to black jack].

[Ferencz] In your parliamentary speech, you said that the government would do everything in its power to avoid an increase in state debts. The reorganization credit slightly contradicts this.

[Szabo] Our credit consolidation program cannot be carried out successfully without reorganization, and the international financial world is also aware of this. We hope that the projects will be self-financing.

[Ferencz] The planned tax increases, mainly the increase in the value added tax, also make your intention to avoid an increase in inflation seem questionable.

[Szabo] The increase in the value added tax might, of course, increase prices by a few percent, but, in my opinion, the prices will not be able to jump because of the limits on solvent demand. At most, legal and illegal trade, which has already "accumulated" much more from the value added tax than necessary this year, will return something to the population.

[Ferencz] You blamed the lack of income from privatization as the main reason for the increase in our budget deficit. How much privatization income is the new

budget counting on, the new budget that already takes into consideration the increased deficit?

[Szabo] The State Property Agency [AVU] controls the property that, practically, can be fully privatized immediately. However, the value of this property is collapsing rapidly; the interest of foreign investors in this sector has decreased, and forcing privatization would only cause damage. Other property, which is now under the jurisdiction of State Property Ltd. [AV Rt], includes enterprises and industrial branches (the banking sector and the energy sector) where privatization must be carried out through an increase in capital. However, the budget will not receive any income from this.

[Ferencz] The message of your economic package deal for citizens not versed in complex economic matters is clear: Social restrictions will follow.

[Szabo] I am convinced that these plans are not antisocial. It is precisely that the society can no longer be burdened; nor do we want to increase their burdens. We will make incomes that do not exceed the minimum wage completely tax free, and the lower and medium strata of wage earners will also get other compensations. Hungary's prosperity does not depend on an increase in unemployment benefits by 100 forints or a slight increase in pensions. If the economy functions, there will be more income, and this will automatically lead to prosperity. In my opinion, this program does not hurt interests where such restrictions would be extremely painful.

[Ferencz] Before the start of the tourist season, many people would like to know when can they expect an increase in the amount of hard currency available for tourism?

[Szabo] The government does not decide on this. This proposal must be coordinated with the National Bank. I do not want to interfere in the affairs of the bank, but I think that this decision must be taken in a way to include also the taxation of interest on hard currency accounts. It would be unfortunate if the increase in hard currency allocation led to a situation in which the funds moved from a taxed savings account fund into a tax-free saving form. Besides, the interest on hard currency accounts is so low that if this measure is not even announced but is simply carried out, only a few people would realize the minimal difference in interest.

Walesa Suggests Presidential Government

WS2605093093 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 2030 GMT 24 May 93

["Directly From the Belvedere" program with Presidential Spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski and correspondent Wojciech Sulecinski, including video recorded "excerpts" of an interview granted to PAP press agency by President Lech Walesa—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Sulecinski] [passage omitted] Can we say that the political arrangement, which lasted almost a year, has been exhausted?

[Drzycimski] We have to make it clear: What do we want to support? Do we want to have a parliamentary system that would in practice govern the entire state? Then we would have a clear situation. Or would we rather have a presidential-parliamentary system? The president believes that in Polish conditions, in these conditions of transforming the country and the entire system, there is a need to establish a more presidential system. This system could, perhaps, be in a certain way akin to the French system, which offers the head of state, elected by the people, the possibility of taking on executive responsibility.

[Begin recording of Walesa interview with two unidentified PAP press agency journalists]

[PAP] ...of the no-confidence vote submitted by Solidarity. Are you going to keep on supporting Suchocka's government, or would you rather back the unionists?

[Walesa] In this parliamentary arrangement, with these powers, and with this enormous number of tasks, no one could have handled the situation better than Prime Minister Suchocka did. The unionists may not like what I have said. Nevertheless, this is true. All of us are to blame for what is going on right now. We do not realize the enormity of the reforms. At the same time, the elites are also to blame, because the system of a faster response has not been created. Due to the fact that we have an outdated law, old habits, and an old economy, my advice should have been acted upon: the main plan. Also, my suggestion was that the governments be given more power, so that they could implement many things quickly.

[PAP] If we really have a new government, it will be the sixth cabinet in four years. Does this mean that we do not know how to take advantage of democracy?

[Walesa] Yes, we do know how to do it. However, you see, a banana cannot grow in Poland. This is because the climate is bad for it. Now, we must change the climate. However, sometimes climate just cannot be changed. This is what happens in Poland. From the beginning I have been advocating a different kind of governing; all along I have been saying that in these different times, Poland needs a different kind of governing, such as decrees. This does not hinder or restrict democracy. We need efficient governing. So far these problems have not been resolved. Someone might ask: Then why did you not advocate or act on Yeltsin's concept? I did not advocate it because I forecast something else: that the people will wake up and realize that this path is wrong; that the people themselves will give back what they should give back. We are all building an automobile; only one of us, however, can be the driver. Therefore, the proper people should be selected, then the chance to govern should be given. One cannot undermine, overthrow, or do other things. However, in order to achieve this, we have been forced to allow a situation in which no new government will be formed after the resignation of this government; and if there is a new government, the people will turn their backs on it. That's it.

[PAP] However, the automobile you so often refer to is often curbed, blocked. Under the slogans of Solidarity, a demonstration against the Belvedere is organized. Solidarity demands that the government be changed.

[Walesa] Again, we have not looked deeply enough into certain matters. In my election campaign I spoke about what I was going to aim at. Today I hear it said that there were slogans which have not been implemented. I am very sorry. If everything I spoke about had been implemented, we would not have such a situation. I had a choice, however: Should I achieve this with coup d'etats, force, and the curbing of democracy? Or should I say no, I will give it all to you, but then you will yourselves come to me to say that this should be done my way. The situation is heading for the place where we should do what I suggested four years ago. The same goes for the plans [words indistinct]. However, no one wanted to admit I was right. The people are now becoming impatient; they are complaining. They think that what I said was important, but that I did not implement it. They are complaining that it was not implemented. They do not seem to notice that I would have had to break the rules that were proposed by the majority. I could not do what Pilsudski did. I wanted to correct Pilsudski. I still want to do it: I do not intend to engineer a coup d'etat. The people must themselves give back... [Walesa changes thought] ... they must return to the idea I suggested.

[PAP] Are you, then, going to do this now, taking advantage of the prerogatives given to you by the Little Constitution? It is the end of May.

[Walesa] No. We still have to wait for that. Of course I will not permit any great danger to the country. It may be a hard road, but I will do what is necessary. I said that I would see the country through this difficult period. However, I have problems doing this, because I have given over to democracy what I was supposed to do. [sentence as heard] I did not want to violate the rules of democracy, so I gave it over to the deputies, the governments. My program was not implemented. The people are complaining that I betrayed them. You can hear that. This shows that they still identify themselves with what I proposed, even though they are complaining that it has not been implemented. They do not see the fact that I was not able to implement it, because to do this, I would

have had to break the constitutional rules. I am waiting for those rules to be changed. Then I will be able to implement what I have been wanting to do all along.

[PAP] Mr. President, if the no-confidence vote in the government is adopted, and if the parliament is unable to form another government, then will the president form a presidentially appointed government?

[Walesa] Yes, he will. Then, while drafting the Constitution, we will draft a provision right at the beginning that says that there cannot be a situation like this one; there cannot be such a mess; there cannot be weak executive authorities; the parliament cannot meddle with the government's affairs; the budget cannot be amended all the time. Also, whenever a deputy criticizes something, he should devote half of his speech to presenting his own solution; he cannot just criticize and say that the money should be found, without saying where it should be taken from. All this can be changed; it is also possible to reach, also with this parliament ... [Walesa changes thought] ... I will suggest that this parliament stay, on condition, however, that this parliament makes governing possible, if it gives the president back what has been taken away from him. Today I do not have the right to submit a motion to change the prime minister. I am not criticizing Prime Minister Suchocka; I do not want to do that. However, I do not have the right. Therefore, how can I be responsible for governing? When should I do this? Who should do this? The executive authorities must be strong, as well as be subordinated to the president. Even though they must be controlled by the parliament, they must also be subordinated to the president, because otherwise we have what we are witnessing today.

[PAP] Mr. President, do you already have specific candidates for the position of prime minister?

[Walesa] Of course I do. That is, I have all the solutions ready. If they are needed, I can take advantage of them. However, I do not want to do this quickly. We must think about it; we cannot implement it too quickly. I know the mistakes, and I will try to correct them.

[PAP] Do you not exclude Prime Minister Suchocka as the candidate for the head of the new government?

[Walesa] I want to reiterate that I have nothing to criticize Prime Minister Suchocka for. She did more in these conditions than I expected. However, now the conditions have changed. Now we must think about all this a little. Nonetheless, we will see what happens.

[PAP] [Words indistinct]

[Walesa] It must be remembered that today we need experts more than anyone else. Political governing is no longer that necessary. As I said about Minister Skubiszewski, he accomplished a great thing. He was a great ace in our hand. However, that was when we were entering the European scene, when the situation was different. Today we need economists everywhere, including in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [end recording]

[Sulecinski] Can we really speak now about a situation where the president is either intending to assume direct control over the government, or that he is preparing another amendment to the Little Constitution?

[Drzycimski] No. We must decide these matters legally. The president is not permitted to do this or that with a coup d'etat. This is not the mistake that the president referred to this week—the mistake of Pilsudski, which consisted in the fact that he staged a coup d'etat. I think that something else is important here. We must come jointly to the conclusion; that is, democracy must make a decision: What do we support? If we make such a decision, the matter will be settled. There is also another thing that is important here. The president is not saying that he wants power for himself. He is just suggesting that the president must be a greater part of the executive system. Otherwise, it will not be possible to act efficiently. Suchocka's government is one of the best governments that have been formed since 1989, as the president says. Even though there were not any serious controversies, some problems kept coming up, which were caused by the inadequacy of the law. We are at a fork in the road. Therefore, it is indispensable to make the two executive branches closer to each other.

[Sulecinski] From what you have said I gather that the president has already bidden farewell to Suchocka's government.

[Drzycimski] No, absolutely not. I would not like you to interpret my words in this way. First, there is a vote ahead of us this week.

[Sulecinski] If the government is supported by the majority, can we say that this political system will be rebuilt?

[Drzycimski] Well, yes, we can. However, for how long? According to the president, a new social agreement must be made. This agreement must include a few political points which will allow us to start moving faster with our economy. Really, in politics we have achieved everything: The democratic system is working. However, this does not hold true for the economy. The people are waiting for the executive authorities to take economic measures. This is our number one issue.

Suchocka Comments on Government's Survival

AU2505104793 Warsaw PAP in English 2208 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] Warsaw, May 24—Polish Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka rated as 50:50 the chances of her coalition government surviving a no-confidence motion in the Sejm (lower house), and promised a new contract with the Polish people in the event that the government survived, at a meeting with the Polish press today.

During the meeting, Ms Suchocka rejected the claim that her government lacked a vision of the future direction for the Polish state, and promised that if the government

survived, she would respond to the question of what had not been achieved to date, and why.

She repeated the government's claim that the demands from several political parties for amendments to the budget were unrealistic, and would represent a departure from the coalition's chosen road. She also added that the tensions in the coalition had subsided, although she accepted that its political base was weak, and that it would be difficult to alter this in the present parliamentary alignment.

Asked to comment on the proposal that the government might continue in existence with the support of the post-communist Democratic Left Alliance (SLD), Ms Suchocka stressed that her cabinet was open to discussion with the left, but would not accede to "conditions by ultimatum." The cabinet would refuse to bow to SLD pressure, she insisted.

In first reactions, journalists noted that the coalition had found itself at a critical juncture. Jerzy Wysocki of ZYCIE WARSZAWY suggested that despite this, he believed the government would survive. However, the offer of support from the left should not be accepted, since this would lead to early elections.

Dariusz Szymczycha, chief editor of the leftist TRYBUNA, stressed that the SLD had made no demands, but had rather noted topics for further discussion. While he recognised that the no-confidence motion was an element in the political game, it nevertheless reflected social dissatisfaction with the scale and costs of the reform.

Speaker Proposes No-Confidence Vote for 28 May

LD2505180793 Warsaw PAP in English 1720 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] Warsaw, May 25—Sejm (Lower House) Speaker Wieslaw Chrzanowski said Tuesday that he will propose that the parliamentary debate on the no-confidence motion forwarded by 52 members of the "Solidarity" parliamentary caucus last week against the government of Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka take place on Thursday [27 May], while the vote on the motion be scheduled for Friday [28 May].

Chrzanowski made the statement after emerging from a sitting of the convention of senior parliamentary deputies.

The Sejm Presidium did not present parliamentary party caucus leaders with an opinion on an article in the Sejm's standing orders concerning votes on non-confidence motions which, according to the presidential chancellery, contradicts the interim constitution.

In the event that a motion of non-confidence is accepted and no new prime minister is selected, Article 66 of the interim constitution provides the president with the right to either accept the government's resignation or to dissolve parliament. However, according to the Sejm standing orders appointment of a new prime minister must be carried out during the parliamentary sitting in which a non-confidence vote is ratified.

"If a group of deputies see fit, they still have time to consider forwarding an eventual draft amendment to the standing orders," Chrzanowski stated.

Kazimierz Ujazdowski, deputy chairman of the Polish Convention (KP) commented that the problem will have to be resolved either by correcting the standing orders, to bring them into unequivocal agreement with the interim constitution, "where the vote of non-confidence will have to be accompanied by the forwarding of a new candidate for prime minister, or that the chamber decide after the eventual dismissal of the prime minister."

Pawlak on Confidence Vote, Early Elections

WS2505143093 Warsaw Radio Zet in Polish 0615 GMT 19 May 93

[Studio interview with Waldemar Pawlak, leader of the PSL, by Andrzej Woyciechowski; from the "Guest of Radio Z" program—live]

[Text] [Woyciechowski] How would the PSL [Polish Peasants' Party] vote in a possible vote of confidence in the Suchocka government?

[Pawlak] No such move has yet been submitted. We will seriously examine this issue when the vote is in the Sejm, because its outcome may result in many political options.

[Woyciechowski] Does that mean that the PSL will make no decision on the no-confidence vote until after a candidate for prime minister is announced?

[Pawlak] We are more interested in the general political situation in the legislature than in the prime minister. The developments can lead to different outcomes, such as the preservation of the present political arrangement; a president-appointed government; a government formed by centrist and right-wing parties, according to the concept of ZChN [Christian National Union] deputy Lopuszanski; or centrist and left-wing parties, the SLD [Left Democratic Union] and the Democratic Union, which united to vote in favor of the mass privatization plan. But the current situation is so acute that it causes one to expect that the solutions lie somewhere in the middle of the above options. In my opinion, that would be a big step forward.

[Woyciechowski] You are one of those few politicians who still believe that some new coalition—you even named four of them—is possible in the current Sejm.

[Pawlak] I think that the principal question here is whether we want to do this.

[Woyciechowski] Do we? Does the PSL want to change the coalition? Does it want to overturn the government?

[Pawlak] We want an efficient government that will implement its decisions upon taking office and which would not embroil itself in internal battles based on the whims of coalition partners. Remember this one? If the PL [Peasants' Accord] remains in the government, farmers will get preferential procurement prices, and vice versa? This is simply haggling in front of the entire society, which has nothing to do with either the economy or politics. I think if we determine certain directions which all would accept as beneficial to Poland, there would be no squabbling or disputes. In my opinion, this is possible, and will require two elements. First, political groups entering negotiations must mutually agree to respect each other's interests and convictions. Second, since we have had more than enough time to understand that no one is going to help us or pull us out of trouble for free, we should act in the interests of Poland. After all, we have our own businessmen and experts who are just as good as the foreigners. Moreover, they have one additional advantage: familiarity with our situation. I hope everyone has come to the realization that you cannot build the future solely on advice from the outside.

[Woyciechowski] This was a vision of a perfect coalition and a government. Now, let us be more realistic. After the PL had left the coalition, some rumors had it that the PSL might take its place. Is this possible?

[Pawlak] It is very naive to think in this way. We are not so anxious to occupy high positions or hang about the government without being able to affect reality. The case of Mr. Janowski is a good example of joining the coalition before setting preconditions. Only two months ago, Mr. Janowski said this government was just perfect, and now he has quit, slamming the door shut. We do not want to repeat his mistake. In fact, another coalition configuration was possible at that time; the ZChN and the PL were appeased by only several minor ministries. The government was plagued by internal strife and faced the constant threat that some of its partners would depart in protest against a disregard for their proposals or convictions. Paradoxically, glaring mistakes and someone's ineptness were overlooked in the name of preserving the coalition.

[Woyciechowski] Let us now take a closer look at a type of coalition that the media named after Deputy Lopuszanski. This Lopuszanski-type coalition is largely conditioned on the PSL's participation. Is this possible? Did you negotiate with Lopuszanski? Is the PSL interested in the idea?

[Pawlak] As I said before in my general overview, this is only one of the possibilities.

[Woyciechowski] Another possibility is a government appointed by the president. For the first time, the television publicly announced a couple days ago that Waldemar Pawlak could be one of the candidates for prime minister. Is this true?

[Pawlak] It was also said in the same program that the other candidates were Ms. Suchocka and Mr. Olechowski [former finance minister].

[Woyciechowski] Did you receive any offers from the Belvedere to form the government?

[Pawlak] No, I did not. There can be many options here. In my and the PSL leadership's opinion, the prospective concept will depend on the largest parties in the Sejm, which gives way to many solutions. I think that we are all able to overcome mutual prejudices and problems for our own benefit. Politics is not the game where someone is supposed to win and someone has to lose—sometimes everyone can be a winner.

[Woyciechowski] Based on what you have just said, one can see that you missed one more option: preservation of the current Suchocka coalition. Does the PSL want to overthrow it?

[Pawlak] No. I told you that on the one hand, we might face the preservation of the status quo and on the other hand, the presidential government, a coalition of the Democratic Union with the SLD or the Lopuszanski-type coalition, uniting centrist and right-wing parties. From our point of view, a solution between these options would be the best in many respects.

[Woyciechowski] Could you specify what this middle concept would be all about?

[Pawlak] As I said, it is the legislature that is supposed to make this kind of decision, however exhausted its composition. And I think it is still possible.

[Woyciechowski] Do you think that the legislature will pass the vote of no-confidence in the Suchocka government? Do you think that the SLD will take the side of the coalition in the vote?

[Pawlak] If the SLD sides with the coalition, we will have a new situation, which might trigger some personal reshuffling within the government or even more explicit moves—I understand that this party will make such a decision just for the fun of it. In my opinion, much will depend upon the coalition politicians and the government's conduct. If they push too hard without offering any flexibility, a quite radical solution becomes possible.

[Woyciechowski] In her television appearance two days ago, Prime Minister Suchocka called upon the opposition for a year-long truce. Are going to respond to this appeal? Or perhaps you already have?

[Pawlak] The main task is to reach an agreement. The government wants the opposition to help it. But I think that the opposition would like the government to help it, too. What ranks first here is not the government's survival as such, but its actions. For example, it had a very dogmatic and intolerant attitude in tackling the privatization issue. It is hard to talk about compromise when there is no place for discussions and leeway to alter the position. So I think that Suchocka's appeal to the

silent majority was pretty interesting. This majority, though still silent, grinds its teeth not necessarily out of satisfaction with the government, but because of discontent and doubts about its efficiency. On the one hand, it is very hard to ignore the present situation in the economy and society, when a lot of people receive miserable wages and pensions. On the other hand, everyone sees how rapidly the government administration is growing. Financial reallotments are possible even within the framework of this budget-finance sphere. No foreign capital or technologies are needed; a responsible decision, based on determined priorities, would be enough. Unfortunately, there is no such country where the administration alone would ensure prosperity. In terms of the future, cutting back on education is very irresponsible, because it degrades us to lower stages in the development of our civilization. The goal of any reform is not just to change, but to change for the better. So this seems to be the direction that we should choose, investing in the spheres where development is possible.

[Woyciechowski] You have just used a terrific expression about the silent majority grinding its teeth. How do you think it will behave during the next election, perhaps on the early election? Do you think that the entire legislative alignment will be disturbed?

[Pawlak] The PSL considers free elections the fullest manifestation of people's convictions, providing equal say to the votes of teachers, farmers, journalists, or ministers if held in a peaceful atmosphere. However, in an atmosphere of high emotions and arguments, journalists' votes may sound a thousand times stronger than those of a simple voter. If we shift to a dictatorship, it will be a bureaucrat or a minister who will make decisions just because they know better how to do it. So we should be very careful not to go to extremes. So with regard to the prospective elections, a quiet atmosphere must be maintained. However, instead of merely appealing to the hardworking people, one should also create conditions for them so that their work is not wasted.

[Woyciechowski] According to the opinion widely held in the Sejm lobbies, early elections will not take place only because large parties want them. Does the PSL want these elections?

[Pawlak] So much clamor has been raised around this issue that we almost believed in such a possibility. Therefore, we proposed that the legislative elections be held along with the local ones, to greatly reduce the costs. We think it is realistic because the next local elections are scheduled for next year. The present situation is changing and calls for a prompt political evaluation of the different politicians and parties to make the legislature accurately reflect people's sentiments. This would also increase voters' influence on politics. So far, more and more parties keep emerging, but sometimes it is hard to say whether they have enough public support, which could be authentically verified by the elections.

Left Not To Support Suchocka in Sejm Vote

LD2605100393 Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish 0600 GMT 26 May 93

[Relayed by TV Polonia]

[Text] The Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SDRP] is for the recall of Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka's government. Aware of our responsibility to Poland, our party presented proposals that have not been accepted by the government coalition.

The SDRP has an alternative program for creating an effective market economy, which would realize social aims. It wants to find support for it in the parliamentary and local self-government elections because it is a necessity, reads the statement by the council sent to the Polish press agency during the night.

Teachers Suspend Strike; Other Actions To Continue

LD2405203193 Warsaw PAP in English 2017 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] Warsaw, May 25—The teachers strike was suspended on Monday in most schools in Poland following a decision by the national committee of Solidarity.

A "passive strike" in some schools will continue until the end of the school year next month in Bydgoszcz, according to the local inter-school strike committee. Striking teachers will not give final grades, issue final school reports to students and take part in teachers board meetings.

Some other strikes in the public sector are continuing, as for instance in the health service in wroclaw where workers are engaged in a rotation strike.

In Wloclawek, the local transport workers struck for two hours on Monday in a protest organised by the Solidarity regional leadership. The regional strike committee has called a four hour warning strike for the whole region which is to take place later in the week.

Among the demands of the strikers are a halt to falling real wages, action to be taken against unemployment and a suspension of the energy price increases.

Wloclawek Transport Workers Stage Warning Strike

LD2405134393 Warsaw PAP in English 1300 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] Wloclawek, May 24—Public transport workers staged a two-hour warning strike in Wloclawek on Monday. The strike was organized by the local "Solidarity" trade union branch that had transformed into the regional strike committee (RKS) last week.

The RKS demanded that a decline in real wages and energy price increases be halted and that the government take vigorous measures against unemployment.

Suchocka Comments on European Economic Order

AU2505085793 Warsaw PAP in English 1844 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] Warsaw, May 24—Polish Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka said today that the June summit of the European Communities in Copenhagen should focus on the vision of economic relations with Central and Eastern Europe.

Suchocka, delivering a lecture, via satellite, to the 23rd International Management Symposium held at the University of St. Gallen, Switzerland, stressed the alarming fact of "the division of the world into economic blocs guarded by protectionist barriers" following the elimination of ideological and political barriers.

The Polish prime minister said that Western Europe has not taken advantage of the opportunities for development which appeared after the fall of communism. The expansion of the free market should have caused economic growth and the transformation of Europe into one economic organism.

She expressed the opinion that such a state of affairs is dangerous especially for states introducing market economy. These countries may "become the first victims of tariff wars among economic giants," said Suchocka.

Suchocka stressed Poland's significant role "in the international system of trade and economic cooperation." According to her, Poland can become a "link between the West and the East and a bridge for Russia and Ukraine leading towards the European free market economy."

Outlining Poland's economic situation, Suchocka said that the systematic fall in inflation, increase of Polish exports, production growth, the development of the private sector and the slowing down of the rate of unemployment are among the key stabilizing factors.

She said that it will be difficult to transform slight economic growth into a permanent success without overcoming barriers hampering economic cooperation in Europe, while the lack of access for Polish goods to Western markets will limit fundamental reforms in Polish industry and agriculture.

Diplomatic Ties Established With Suriname

LD2405185093 Warsaw PAP in English 1841 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] Warsaw, May 24—Poland and Suriname established diplomatic relations at the ambassadorial level on May 24, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced on Monday.

The respective agreement was concluded in The Hague by extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassadors of the two countries.

Iliescu Favors 'Joint Efforts' With Moldova

AU2505173193 Bucharest DIMINEATA SUPPLEMENT in Romanian 19 May 93 p 2

[Interview with President Ion Iliescu by unidentified Romanian Television reporter for a "Joint Bucharest-Chisinau Television Program" broadcast on 7 May]

[Text] [Reporter] Mr. President, our intention is to make these joint television programs contribute to a better understanding and effective rapprochement of the Romanians on the two banks of the Prut River. Did you see our previous programs? If so, how do you assess them?

[Iliescu] In view of the overall impact of television on the public at large and of the present situation in our country and in the Republic of Moldova—that is the current circumstances of the Romanians on both sides of the Prut River—I believe that these programs are quite welcome. This is a most efficient way of knowing and understanding each other better. After all, there have been so many years, even decades, of estrangement and lack of contact and acquaintance. All this has created reservations, misgivings, and suspicions, which were often deliberately fueled. Therefore, I consider your programs as very worthwhile, since they help people to know and understand each other better and to communicate directly with each other. I value very much the role of these broadcasts.

[Reporter] What are the subjects which you, as a simple television viewer, would like us to include in these joint television programs?

[Iliescu] I believe that all spheres of social and intellectual life and all problems linked to the processes currently experienced by the two states are of interest to the viewers. Therefore, I would not recommend that you limit the subjects of these programs, but, on the contrary, that you expand their thematic spectrum to include problems connected with difficult economic processes for both states; problems linked to the state structures, which have their own peculiarities in the two Romanian states; and problems linked to our social life. Life in our towns and villages presents itself in one way, while in the Republic of Moldova it has its own peculiarities. Finally, we come to the issue of intellectual life. It is very important that people should better and more directly perceive our life, concerns, thoughts, and culture. I particularly liked your last program about the two writers from Chisinau. This helps the Romanian public to become better acquainted with the culture that has developed on the other side of the Prut River. Television can do a lot in this respect, to facilitate our intellectual integration and the development of a common intellectual space. In my opinion, this direct communication and acquaintance with each other's cultural, artistic, and professional creation and folklore activities are useful for promoting a real all-round rapprochement between the people on both banks of the Prut River.

[Reporter] Since our television programs can only partly reflect the many problems related to the parallel—for the time being—existence of the two states, how do you assess the current situation of the relations between Romania and the Republic of Moldova?

[Iliescu] In politics one should always proceed from prevailing realities. We must also take into consideration historical reality. This does not mean that we are abandoning the historical aspirations of the Romanians. But we are confronted with a reality which we welcomed at the time and which we consider as a positive one: the severance of the state of Moldova from the former empire, the former Soviet Union. We consider that move an important step, which removed a main barrier that has obviously blocked communications between the Romanians on both sides of the Prut River. Therefore, a huge step has already been taken. The consolidation of Moldova's independent status does not run counter to its aspirations for development in the sphere of democracy, politics, and civic freedoms. On the contrary, it provides a new framework for assertion, communication, and the development of all-round relations between the Romanians on both banks of the Prut River. Therefore, we must take into consideration this historical reality—the existence of the two states—and develop comprehensive relations between them in the process of future integration; in cooperation in the basic fields of economy and social and economic relations; in human communications; and in cultural, educational, scientific, religious, and other relations.

Of course, certain perturbations have appeared. By that I mean that there was, I believe, a first moment of upsurge in 1990-91, with a very broad opening and with political and other contacts that promised an ever larger opening. Then came the moment of convulsions and military conflicts in the Dniester region, which brought about a note of tension and anxiety that also affected the state relations between our two countries.

Indeed, elements of suspicion have emerged in our relations. They were fueled both from the outside and by certain domestic forces intent on preventing the development of democratic processes in the Republic of Moldova—forces that are still maintaining a state of tension in that area, in the eastern rayons. This has primarily affected the domestic evolution of political, social, economic, and intellectual processes in the Republic of Moldova and also the normal development of our relations at the governmental, state, and economic levels. I would say that both sides are now displaying a political will to remedy matters. The latest contacts we had with the new parliament president in Chisinau, Mr. Petru Lucinschi, and our direct exchanges with President Mircea Snegur and Premier Andrei Sangheli, as recently as last month in Washington, prove the explicit desire of the political forces to resume and relaunch our bilateral relations. Therefore, I believe that we have reached a point whereby both sides should strive to relaunch their joint efforts, in order also to eliminate the artificially fuelled suspicions about allegedly hidden thoughts or

double meanings of certain concrete actions and contacts. I believe that we must eliminate all these residues of suspicion and create a relaxed climate to facilitate the promotion of our state relations, particularly the development of economic relations and direct contacts between economic agents, enterprises, and agricultural units, as well as in the sphere of trade and economic exchanges, through concrete reforms and bilateral cooperation, so that we can jointly penetrate third markets and also search for other partners. In the political sphere, where we have always shown a broad opening, we should cooperate internationally in various world bodies. It is necessary to make joint efforts to resolve this "thorn" represented by the existence of foreign troops on the territory of an independent state, Moldova, something which will always be an obstacle to the normal evolution of the situation in the region. We also expressed our readiness to support the efforts made by the Republic of Moldova's state leadership to solve this problem, including in the emotional matter of the Tiraspol trial of six Romanians, which is proof of the state of tension with which the political leadership of the Republic of Moldova is confronted. We have clearly stated our position in this respect. Therefore, we should look at things realistically, and at the problems facing Moldova and us. Together, in a spirit of realism, we must search for ways and means to ensure a positive development of our relations in the future. I believe that there is a political will for that and that we can overcome these difficult moments and further expand our relations.

[Reporter] With this interview, you are actually our program's guest. Would you be so kind as to say a few words for this program and the viewers?

[Iliescu] First of all, to take up a point I mentioned before, I would like to congratulate you for your initiative and for your achievements to date. I would like you to continue making your programs with courage, trust, and optimism. To all viewers, I convey my best wishes and optimism, which we must jointly cultivate, in order to develop soul relations between all Romanians everywhere—in this case particularly among the Romanians on both banks of the Prut River.

Cooperation Measures Explained

AU2505105093 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] In an interview for Chisinau radio, Teodor Melescanu, state minister and minister of foreign affairs, affirmed that, following the latest contacts in Bucharest with a delegation of the Republic of Moldova led by Vice Prime Minister Nicolae Andronati, the two sides had agreed on a plan of joint measures to consolidate relations between the two states.

Citing the achievements, Melescanu said cooperation is being discussed by groups of specialists and is developing in the right direction in such areas as the economy, energy, finance, banking, and culture, with the exception of difficulties associated with the crossing of borders.

Asked about a possible summit between the two presidents, Melescanu answered that if there are tangible initiatives on the part of the Republic of Moldova, the Romanian Presidency will show understanding and flexibility as it usually does.

Trade With EFTA Countries Reported Increasing

AU2505125493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0825 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 25/5/1993—After the signing of a free trade agreement between Romania and the EFTA [European Free Trade Association] countries, Romania's relations with these countries will have a new pace and scope, writes ADEVARUL ECONOMIC. Romania's exports to this zone represented in 1992, 8.6 percent from its hard currency exports as against 5.8 percent in 1989, and its imports from the EFTA countries 9.7 percent. The said weekly specifies that imports from these countries have grown continually, so that in 1992 they were 4.39-fold higher than in 1989. After a period of decline, Romania's exports to the EFTA countries were in 1992 only by 8 million higher than those of 1989, that totalled 342 million dollars. Considering the differences between the standard of the EFTA countries and Romania, the present agreement applies the principle of asymmetry, offering a number of advantages to Romania for a period of 5-8 years.

Negritoiu, EC Official Discuss Information Center

AU2505195793 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1358 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/5/1993—Minister of State and Chairman of the Council for Cooperation, Strategy, and Economic Reform Misu Negritoiu received Roland Jarret, chief of the Tenth General Division of the Council of Europe, on Tuesday, May 25, at the Victoria Palace in Bucharest.

The two dignitaries discussed the proximate opening in Bucharest of a European information center meant to popularize in Romania the activities of the community bodies. The center, to be organized by the Romanian Government with logistic aid from the European Community, will impart information on issues regarding Romania's integration into the community's organizations, information necessary for Romanian experts to make better use of the interim agreement and the European accord which Romania signed with the European Community.

The meeting was also attended by Romanian Secretary of State and head of the Department for European Integration Napoleon Pop.

IAEA Experts Inspect Cernavoda Nuclear Plant

AU2505153493 Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 20 May 93 p 2

[Unattributed article: "The Romanian Nuclear Power Plant Will Be Able To Operate Without Any Risks—IAEA Inspection at Cernavoda Plant"]

[Text] The Cernavoda nuclear power plant is committed to achieving a high standard of nuclear safety and to doing things increasingly better.

This assessment was made by the (PRE OSART) team of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), which visited Cernavoda from 6 April-14 May to inspect the plant's nuclear safety in the pre-operational stage.

According to the experts participating in the mission, the general results of the inspection prove that the Cernavoda management plans actions designed to improve activity in general and to ensure acceptable safety levels at the nuclear power plansents "a number of positive characteristics in the activity of this plant" and formulates a number of proposals designed to contribute to the achievement of the objective pursued by the plant's management, namely to ensure and maintain the safe operationt. The PRE OSART team noted that, since the 1991 visit, significant progress has been made in the construction of the plant, along with improvements in the activity of the personnel.

A press communique that was published by the team of inspectors pre of this plant.

The experts thoroughly inspected nine areas: the management, organization and administration, the training and qualification of personnel, the utilization of the plant, its maintenance and technical branches, protection against radiation, chemistry, planning and preparation for emergency cases, and the putting into operation.

The mission included experts from Brazil, France, Germany, Great Britain, Pakistan, the United States, and Hungary, as well as four IAEA personnel members and an observer from Bulgaria.

Past Attempt To Produce Plutonium Disclosed

AU2505112493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0828 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 25/5/1993—Daily EVENIMENTUL ZILEI writes that, under Ceausescu, Romania tried to produce plutonium for the manufacturing of an atomic weapons. The newspaper recalls that in May 1989 the communist leader had made a statement that worried the foreign chancellories: "Technically, we do have the ability to manufacture atomic weapons."

According to the daily the Institute of Nuclear Power Reactors made a clandestine experiment in December 1985, the final purpose of which was the manufacturing of the raw material for an atomic weapon. The results of the experiment were used on projecting a production capacity of one kilogram of plutonium a year.

After the December 1989 revolution, the new Romanian Government had first dissociated itself from Ceausescu's statement. However, in April 1992 a vessel was discovered at the Nuclear Research Institute in Pitesti, containing 470 millilitres of mysterious substance. It was confirmed to be the solution from which plutonium had been extracted.

The then Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan decided the fact should be reported to the Vienna-based International Atomic Energy Agency. Much to the Romanian authorities' astonishment, agency's representatives said they had been abreast of Ceausescu's efforts to make an atomic weapon.

Iliescu on Economic, Social Issues

AU2405183793

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian at 0812 GMT on 24 May carries a two hour and 18-minute live relay of a news conference given by President Ion Iliescu in Bucharest at Cotroceni Palace. Before answering the journalists' questions, Iliescu makes a 38-minute introductory statement on his recent visit to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the phenomenon of corruption in Romania.

Then, a one hour and 50-minute question-and-answer session follows:

Asked to comment on a possible unification of big trade union centers, Iliescu says that "the attempts to unify the trade union movement in representative bodies at the national level can be valid partners of both the government and the employers' association."

Asked about the situation of the former nomenklatura, Securitate members, and propaganda personnel who today are turning to market economy and can be found in all economic and administrative structures of Romania "using their former influence to rob public property," Iliescu answers that "first of all, this modification is valid for everybody, no matter what position the respective person held before in society. It is not essential what position one person or another held formerly." "I reject a mentality that values people according to their past. They have to be valued according to their behavior. If a person breaks the law, it does not matter that he belonged to the nomenklatura, that he held a certain important position, or that he was a member of a certain system. All this is not important. The person has to be judged according to what he is doing now and according to the way in which he is observing or violating the law."

A DEUTSCHE WELLE correspondent asks Iliescu about his views "on the latest strategy of the five countries: the United States, Russia, Great Britain,

France, and Spain regarding Bosnia-Herzegovina." Iliescu answers that "the plan is in fact a new variation of the Vance-Owen plan" and "I believe that any initiative that follows the idea of supporting a peace plan in Bosnia-Hercegovina is welcome."

Asked to speak—in the context of his "very deep concern regarding the situation in Transylvania"—about his views regarding the "offensive that the Romanian National Unity Party Cluj branch, headed by Mayor Funar, is carrying out against the prefect's office" in what seems to be "very abusive behavior of the respective mayor," Iliescu says that he "does not want to go into details about relations between political formations" and it is the government's job to see to it that the prefect carries out his duty.

In connection with the "issue of the former Yugoslavia," Iliescu is asked about his views on "the tragic effects of chauvinism and instigation of interethnic hatred." He is also asked: "How often have you appeared on television to take realistic measures in connection with the interethnic problems in Romania and warn the population that EUROPA and ROMANIA MARE, through their violent chauvinism, are preparing heaps of Romanian, Hungarian, and Gypsy corpses, regardless of their age and sex?" Iliescu answers that he is aware of the danger of chauvinism and expresses the belief that "we all have to find the common language and the common platform to promote tolerance, good understanding, and civilized human relations of esteem and mutual respect for all citizens of this country."

Asked to refer to Romania's relations with the Republic of Moldova, Iliescu terms them a "special issue" and says that the problems Moldova is encountering mainly spring from its connection with the former Soviet economic zone and are issues that should "be the subject of concerns of Moldova's political leadership." He also says that what the two Romanian states could do is encourage "the necessary framework for normal, natural relations," which could gradually favor an economic, cultural integration aimed at preparing the future union of the two countries.

In connection with the reform and the Vacaroiu government, President Iliescu says that "irrespective of the structure of the executive, the difficulties that are connected with the transition period will remain the same and cannot be solved through a change of government" and that "the Vacaroiu government was the only government that presented the Parliament with a draft program that offered an appropriate picture regarding the reform and its prospects, as well as ways to achieve and schedule processes. This was not the case with the other governments and this is a positive factor in favor of the current one."

In conclusion, Iliescu thanks the audience for attending the news conference.

Popescu Views Strikes, Scandinavian Visit

AU2405171193 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 18 May 93 p 5

[Second part of interview with Dan Mircea Popescu, minister of labor and social protection, by Liana Buligan; place and date not given: "The Protocol Concluded With Trade Unions Is a Failure"; first part of interview published in the 25 May East Europe DAILY REPORT]

[Text] [Buligan] Do you think that the trade unions' strike also had a political motivation?

[Popescu] Looking at their claims, one cannot notice a political character. However, looking at the way in which they chose the moment to start the conflict, the strike might acquire political connotations and even political implications. From the first moments of investiture, the government was aware that it would have to overcome difficult moments. We have overcome winter and the "May" event could have been overcome too, although its effects will be felt in the coming period. July is approaching with the prospects of the introduction of the value-added tax.... Hence, from this point of view, the year 1993 is a very difficult year for the government. Anything is possible, although, meantime, the government has gained experience and started working better. However, we live in such delicate times, when things are changing daily, not only in the domestic but also in the international arena. Let us not forget where we are, in what region we live, and to what influences we are subjected. Therefore, what today seems very clear and consolidated, might tomorrow appear under a completely different aspect.

[Buligan] One can hear about corruption that reaches high places, the top of the social hierarchy. Is there a firm and immediate strategy to clarify this state of affairs?

[Popescu] There are attempts to limit corruption. The recent disclosure on this subject made this situation topical. A parliamentary commission is being set up and this commission will examine the situation. The president of Romania asked that all of 1992 and the first quarter of 1993 should be thoroughly examined as far as the activity of the police is concerned. It should be clarified how many files the police did turn in to the Prosecutor's Office, how many files the Prosecutor's Office did turn in to the Court of Justice, and what solutions have been found. It is high time that we find out what is happening and it is high time that all actions are examined to the very last detail. We have to find out once and for all if there are corrupt people at very high levels and who they are. Therefore, the government is determined to find this out and there is a political will to go to the very end. The moment is adequate and is ripe for such an action.

[Buligan] Do you believe that you are going to be granted additional decisionmaking prerogatives in the very near future?

[Popescu] I do not. However, I will certainly implement the protocol signed recently with trade unions, then implement very important draft laws, such as the Law on Trade Unions or the Law on the Tri-Party System. We will have to be extremely active, even more so considering that, for a while, we will not have something that is called the Employers' Association, due to the very slow pace of privatization. One cannot work with all the social and political subsystems at the same time. The discrepancy is inevitable and, at the same time, dangerous. Therefore, we insisted that the draft law on trade unions should be worked out by the trade unions themselves so that the problem of representation and responsibility should be solved gradually, once and for all—and thus start a clearcut relationship of the two partners: the social and the political ones.

[Buligan] You have recently returned from a visit to Norway and Denmark. Some people considered this visit took place at an "inappropriate" moment, because it coincided with the end of government-trade union negotiations. In what way could one assess this visit correctly?

[Popescu] I believe it is useful to tell you what I believe, the more so since I was criticized for leaving. I had attended two rounds of negotiations with trade unions, negotiations that were broadcast on the radio. During the talks, everything that had to be said was said and the principles that can be found in the current protocol were voiced. Since that day, only technical details remained to be solved, something that is done at a level of experts. My mission was concluded. On the other hand, it is not correct to believe that I am the only one who can mediate a conflict. Those visits were agreed upon several months previously and it would have looked very bad if I had not honored them. Those visits concerned an area of Europe that has been closed to Romania, and we had to make an opening. In the end, the visit had significant results. I can tell you a very important detail. While we were preparing for the visit, I intended to visit Sweden, too. However, in spite of all our efforts, that country categorically refused us, the answer being: NO, FOR ROMANIA! Therefore, only the visit to Norway and Denmark could take place, and the social protection is one of the basic pillars for our cooperation with those countries. A few days after my return to Romania, I received an official invitation from Sweden. Thus, the opening had been made and now Sweden is changing its opinion about Romania. Romania has been accepted for a UN seminar, financed by Norway, that will be held in August, with the participation of 17 countries. This means that they now recognize the fact that the situation of handicapped people, old people, and orphans has changed favorably. Unfortunately, Romania's image in the world continues to be based on information from the 1989-90 period. Currently, images from 1989, about the state of handicapped people, and pictures of the miners' incursion in June 1991 are being presented in America without comment being made of the time when the respective images had been taken, and all this creates a kind of "continuous present" for those who are watching them. This is not accidental at all. Respecting this, maybe I should tell you that I interrupted my visit to Denmark because I received news from Romania: "Prime Minister Vacaroiu has had a heart attack, the Bucharest subway has not been working for the past three days, the Constanta Port is blocked..." while images of the 1991 miners' incursions were broadcast on television stations in support of the information about the general strike.... I could not make contact with the premier for a whole morning, so I returned home, just in time to catch the government meeting in which the signing of the protocol was being finalized, the subway had resumed its activity.... Thus, I must return to the idea of those differences that exist in the activity of the Romanian social and political sub-systems. We have much work to carry out in Romania, and what is important is, we have to do it with great responsibility.

Vacaroiu Supports State, Private Sectors

AU2505130793 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1101 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/5/1993—Premier Nicolae Vacaroiu is critical, in an interview granted to the newspaper CRONICA ROMANA, of the improper outlook over privatisation in Romania of the past three years. "We must not destroy but recover the state sector and make it operate and support the private enterprises by resources," states Mr. Vacaroiu. He also rejects accusations according to which privatisation in Romania has known of late a slower path, showing that only in the past four months some 33,000 new companies have been created.

Referring to the way in which privatisation should be completed under the current circumstances in Romania, Premier Vacaroiu outlines that first of all capital is needed for this. "Obviously, if one wishes to sell everything on a penny for the other day to say that we give everything free-of-charge, we are going to make privatisation right now however, I believe that responsibility must be assumed, especially because all that we are privatising is public wealth created in the course of time, not by Ceausescu but precisely by those who have been working in economic units."

Making use of the experience of other neighbouring countries of Romania, Premier Vacaroiu recalls that in Hungary, for example, after 15 years of market economy, some 85 per cent of industry is still run by the state, but each company is confronted with a serious social problem and capital is needed too.

Approaching the issue of foreign investors, Premier Vacaroiu shows that they are investing only in profitable enterprises, favouring tourism, services and trade, while more frequently they are contributing with tiny capitals by which "on people's toil" by monopoly prices and by inflation they are recovering their money in a short lapse of time. "We cannot go forever on this formula, with people contributing with a capital of $1,000 to make the business of the century in Romania," concludes Mr. Vacaroiu. "If we are furthering all these we will never

pass the sale stand mushrooming stage, with all the clearance sales invading the Romanian stands, turning the country into a circus. These are not investors and this is not privatisation or reform. The true reform, internationally recognised, has been the axing of subsidies," concludes the Romanian premier.

SRI Said To Own Farmland in Dolj County

93P20189A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 20 May 93 p 1

[Article by Vasile Iancu: "The SRI Has 40,000 Hectares of Farmland in Dolj County"]

[Text] During a union meeting held in Craiova in which unions belonging to the Sigma Group (Oltcit, Farm Machinery, Avicola, and others) participated, Mr. Ion Ene, president of the Union of Retired Persons, spoke and stated the following: "Dolj County deserves to have national attention drawn to it because it is the only county in the nation where the SRI company Perendava is operating. SRI farmland in Dolj County consists of 40,000 hectares, extending from the outskirts of the city of Craiova to the Leu commune. Even though this company was recently put out of business, by order of the government, the farmland continues to remain under the control of its new owners (namely, the SRI [Romanian Intelligence Service]). The rights of the previous owners are being disregarded."

During the Craiova meeting "heartfelt thanks" were extended to the Vacaroiu government for the most spectacular decrease ever of the standard of living.

Foreign Media Bulletin: Balkan Crisis 26 May
WA2605153093

The following is an overview of current FBIS reporting on events in the Balkans. It supplements other FBIS reporting and consists primarily of selected summaries of longer reports. For reference purposes, serial numbers of the longer reports are provided.

SUMMARY

Bosnian Serb leader Karadzic denounces UN war crimes tribunal resolution ... Muslims, Croats renew talks but fighting reportedly continues ... Muslims report Serbian attacks in northern Bosnia ... Krajina Serbs say Croats shelling Obrovac ... International mediator Stoltenberg says "joint action plan" does not recognize Serbian gains.

POLITICAL

KARADZIC DENOUNCES UN RESOLUTION (Pale Radio): Bosnian Serb leader Karadzic calls UN resolution to establish international tribunal for war crimes committed in Bosnia an "act of revenge by the German lobby for Nuremberg." Claiming tribunal will "destroy" UN's "credibility completely," Karadzic says it is "more acceptable and correct" to investigate "crimes from as far back as World War II," suggests Bosnian Serb "judiciary" be allowed to try war criminals on their own. (LD2605135393)

MILITARY

MUSLIMS, CROATS RENEW TALKS (Zagreb Radio, Sarajevo Radio): Joint commission to work out details of Muslim-Croat cease-fire in central Bosnia resumes talks after brief suspension. Both sides agree to release all prisoners detained during fighting, joint "civilian police forces" to patrol streets of Mostar along with "EC police." Zagreb Radio says Muslim forces distributing pamphlets in Mostar promising "to return" and "expel ustashas," "destroy Herceg-Bosna." (LD2505170193, AU2505184193)

MUSLIMS, CROATS TRADE ACCUSATIONS (Sarajevo Radio, Zagreb Radio): Bosnian Army reports villages around Kiseljak "burned down" by Bosnian Croat forces, captured Kiseljak Muslims "tortured, beaten up, murdered, and raped." Zagreb Radio reports "infantry arms fire," "rocket propelled-grenades" from Muslim forces in Mostar. (LD2505211093, LD2605104493)

MUSLIMS REPORT SERBIAN ATTACKS (Sarajevo Radio): Sarajevo Radio says "unprecedented crimes of genocide" being committed on Maglaj citizens by attacking Bosnian Serb forces, three "Yugoslav Army" aircraft used in Serbian attack on Brcko. (LD2505214993, AU2605093693)

CROAT SHELLING OF OBROVAC (TANJUG): Krajina Serbs report "several civilians wounded" in Croatian artillery attack on Obrovac, Serbian units "fiercely responded" to attacks. (LD2605084093)

DIPLOMATIC

MEDIATOR TALKS WITH IZETBEGOVIC (Sarajevo Radio): During visit to Sarajevo, Conference on Yugoslavia Cochairman Stoltenberg reportedly assures Bosnian President Izetbegovic that there is "no question" under international "joint action plan" of "recognizing legalization" of Serbian gains in Bosnia, rejects Muslim assertion that "safe havens" amount to "ethnic reservations." (AU2605105693)

Stoltenberg: 'No Question' of Recognizing Serb Gains

AU2605105693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 26 May 93

[Text] [Reporter] Thorvald Stoltenberg, cochairman of the peace conference on the former Yugoslavia, arrived in Sarajevo today. Our colleague, Zoran Pirolic, who has just returned from his assignment, is in the studio. Good day.

[Pirolic] Good day.

[Reporter] Can you tell us first whether you have any information about the plan for Mr. Stoltenberg's visit, and whether he has issued a statement on this occasion?

[Pirolic] Thorvald Stoltenberg will stay in Sarajevo for the day, and the most important aspect of his visit is, of course, his meeting with Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, and his associates. Apart from that, Stoltenberg will hold talks with UNHCR [UN High Commission for Refugees] and UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] representatives in Sarajevo. He will return to Zagreb this afternoon.

There were many foreign reporters at the airport, and they were all interested in the issues that Stoltenberg will discuss with Izetbegovic, as we all know that both our government and the Presidency have rejected the plan of the five in Washington.

One of the questions posed to Stoltenberg was whether that plan really meant the legalization of the creation of ethnic reservations in the heart of Europe. Stoltenberg rejected such an interpretation of the Washington agreement. He said that he believed this was an attempt to protect the lives of civilians in the first place, and to ensure a more stable cease-fire in Bosnia-Herzegovina. According to him, there is no question of the international community recognizing the legalization of the occupation, that is, legalization of what the Serbian aggressor side has gained by force on the ground.

[Studio announcer] I hope this will relieve the anxiety our listeners felt about the latest agreement on the solution to the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis. We will have more details later about the visit of our esteemed guest in our information programs.

'No Alternative' to Vance-Owen

AU2605111093 Paris AFP in English 1035 GMT 26 May 93

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, May 26 (AFP)—U.N. mediator Thorvald Stoltenberg arrived in Sarajevo Wednesday saying there was no alternative to the Vance-Owen peace process for war-torn Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"The alternative is much worse than to concentrate on making the best out of this peace process which is based on the Vance-Owen plan," Stoltenberg told reporters.

The new United Nations mediator, who replaced former U.S. secretary of state Cyrus Vance, said: "I am here to listen. It is my first visit to Sarajevo" as U.N. mediator. [passage omitted]

Stoltenberg said the peace process was still moving towards the Vance-Owen plan, and that he would try to convince Izetbegovic of this.

He was met at the airport by French General Philippe Morillon, the head of U.N. troops in Bosnia.

Morillon said he had met Izetbegovic Tuesday and that the Bosnian president had asked that it be put in writing that Saturday's agreement for safe havens was just an interim solution on the way to the Vance-Owen plan.

Karadzic Rejects UN War Tribunal Resolution

LD2605135393 Pale Radio-Televizija Republike Srpske Studio-S Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 26 May 93

[Text] This is how Radovan Karadzic, president of our state, reacted to the UN Security Council's latest resolution to set up an international war tibunal:

[Begin Karadzic recording] I think that this is a very problematic issue. I think that the UN has been taking actions that will destroy its credibility completely. It would be more acceptable and more correct if a standing war tribunal was set up to analyze the crimes from as far back as World War II, whose perpetrators escaped trial and all war crimes committed.

As it stands now, the decision looks more like an act of revenge by the German lobby for Nuremberg and an attempt in the Yugoslav conflict to pick a side as a scapegoat.

Another problem posed by this decision refers to the sovereignty of a nation and its judiciary. The nation of the Serb republic is sovereign with its own sovereign judiciary and the sovereign right to try for crimes. We will try all those who have committed war crimes, be they Serbs, Croats, or Muslims. We will, of course, allow the international community and public to observe the trials.

Our judiciary will also take note of, accept, and check all possible pieces of evidence that emerge during trials by the international war tribunal. [end recording]

Agreement in Konjic on Normalization Measures

AU2505191793 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 25 May 93

[Excerpts] A meeting of the members of the Konjic war presidency and the presidency of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] of Konjic was held in Konjic today. The meeting was also attended by representatives of the Party of Democratic Action, the Catholic Church, the Islamic community, and the Association of Muslim and Croat Intellectuals. They discussed the military and

political situation in Konjic commune and the recent clashes of Croatian Defense Council (HVO] troops and Bosnia-Herzegovina Army units. Borka Rudic reports:

[Begin Rudic recording] [passage omitted] At the end of the debate, which lasted for several hours, the following conclusions were adopted at today's meeting of the war presidency and the HDZ of Konjic commune:

To immediately secure a cease-fire and the end of hostilities. To form joint commands. To release all prisoners. To restore united civilian authorities. To guarantee security to all representatives of the HDZ and the HVO and release them from prison. To reconnect telephone lines to all citizens of Croatian nationality. To elect eight Muslims and members of the Croatian and Serbian peoples into the war presidency, and to do the same in the Konjic Ministry of Internal Affairs and the state commission for the exchange of prisoners, and to arrest all thieves and criminals. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Croat, Muslim Commission in Mostar Resumes Work

LD2505170193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 25 May 93

[Report from Mostar by Slavko Rako]

[Excerpts] A session of the Presidium of the Croat Democratic Community [HDZ] for Bosnia-Herzegovina, held under the chairmanship of Mate Boban in Mostar today, (?discussed) current events and especially the obligations [word indistinct] based on the Boban-Izetbegovic agreement signed in Zagreb on 25 April and the concrete implementation of the Vance-Owen plan as agreed in Medjugorje on 18 May.

The HDZ Presidium has, in line with its powers, appointed Croats to the interim provincial authorities. On the basis of the agreement on the transitional provincial authorities, the following have been appointed: Pero Markovic to the post of governor of province no. 8, Mostar; Vlado Soljic, governor of province no. 10, Travnik; Perica Jukic, deputy governor of province no. 9, Zenica; and Mostar lawyer Ivan Tomic as public defense lawyer. [passage omitted]

Thanks to the efforts of UN Protection Force and EC military observers, the Croat-Muslim mixed commission charged with implementing the Petkovic-Halilovic Medjugorje agreement in the Mostar area today resumed its work, which was interrupted yesterday. The commission today agreed on the release of all civilians detained and kept in shelters and in buildings in the combat zone for security reasons. The commission also reached an agreement on the release of all soldiers of the Croat Defense Council [HVO] and the Muslim army on the basis of the all-for-all principle. The list of names of these people will be verified at a meeting due to be held tomorrow morning. The agreements should be implemented by 1500 tomorrow. This is stated in today's communique, which disregards the fact that the HVO released all civilians and Muslim army soldiers a few days ago. [passage omitted]

Representatives of the Muslim forces were distributing pamphlets on the right bank of the Neretva last night. The pamphlets addressed the Muslims of Mostar state: We have not betrayed you; we promise to return to our town and expel the ustashas and their accomplices from Mostar; we will destroy their Herceg-Bosna, the pamphlet with Muslim army insignia states.

'Significant Progress'

AU2505184193 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 25 May 93

[Mostar Press Center report]

[Excerpts] After [word indistinct] negotiations of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] in Mostar, which lasted more than three hours, a significant progress has been made in calming the bloody Muslim-Croatian clashes. The negotiating sides, represented by Mr. Slavko (?Puric) for Croatia and Mr. Aris Pasalic for the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, in the presence of witnesses Peter (?Eskens), [word indistinct] of the military observers, and [word indistinct] (?Middleton), representative of the EC observers, agreed to liberate all detained civilians or those who are in the shelters and buildings in the zone of war activities, as well as to free all detained Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and HVO soldiers, according to the principle of all for all.

To implement this agreement, the representatives of the local communities have been asked to register all persons who wish to move from one local community to another. Besides, they may also compile lists of demands by the persons who, because of war activities or for other reasons, cannot register themselves. The (?transport) of persons who express the desire to move will be provided by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO in the presence of the Spanish battalion, as stated in the conclusion of the text of today's agreement. [passage omitted]

The negotiations are scheduled to continue in Mostar tomorrow. If today's agreement is successfully realized and all detained persons are released and returned to their homes, the next steps will be the civilian police forces of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna patrolling the streets of the town together with the EC police, the separation of the warring sides, and the withdrawal of the army into the barracks, as envisaged by the Medjugorje agreement.

Demands Viewed

AU2505160293 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 25 May 93

[Mostar Press Center report]

[Excerpt] After yesterday's sudden interruption of the talks between the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] in Mostar, which (?caused) new anxiety among the suffering residents of the town, the talks resumed early this morning.

The continuation of the talks followed the intervention by the EC observers' mission and the UN Protection Force, who [words indistinct] of the negotiations and the most important issues that must be discussed immediately.

The command of the Fourth Corps expressed its full readiness to observe all the demands of the Medjugorje agreement in the continuation of negotiations. [Words indistinct] left bank, as well as in other parts of the town that are under our control, we do not hold a single detained civilian, is stated in a (?letter) by the command of the Fourth Corps addressed to UNPROFOR and the EC mission in view of the unsubstantiated HVO accusations that the army has placed Croatian civilians in detention. The command of the Fourth Corps demands that the EC mission and UNPROFOR secure free access to the town to all civilians who wish to enter, on the condition that UNPROFOR provides escorts and secures their safe return. It is also demanded that the HVO finally produce a list of detained members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. [passage omitted]

Croat Maltreatment of Muslims in Kiseljak

LD2505211093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] Regarding the clashes between the Croat Defense Council [HVO] and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, which started in Kiseljak municipality on 18 April, the war presidency of the Kiseljak municipality issued a statement for the public today.

According to the statement, HVO soldiers brutally attacked the Muslim villages of Rotilj, Visnjica, Svinjarevo, Komionica, Gromiljak, Mihovac, Mehrici Mahala, Rudnik and Kazagici. Villagers were taken away and detained. The villages were burned down. All those who did not escape—young and old, men and women, and even women with little children—were detained. Two imams were arrested.

Between 450 and 500 houses have been burned down. Kiseljak Muslims captured by the HVO units were tortured and beaten up and then murdered. Cases of rape were also reported. Captured civilians were taken to frontlines to dig trenches and reinforce Croat positions. Some were later murdered.

The war presidency of the Kiseljak municipality does not have the exact number of killed.

Although the agreement signed by the commands of the HVO and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army envisages the release of all detained people, the HVO has not observed the agreement, so about 70 Muslim detainees are still in HVO camps.

People are still being arrested and detained, and people left in villages and in Konjic live in fear and under great pressure, because robbery is a daily occurrence and Croats are moving into Muslim houses.

Phone lines to all Muslim houses have been cut off and electricity has been cut off in the village of Bilalovac. Food stored in the Kiseljak bureau of the Merhamet charity has been plundered.

The war presidency of the Kiseljak municipality demands in today's statement for the public that [words indistinct] be condemned.

Continued Fighting in Mostar; UN Convoy in Transit

LD2605104493 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 26 May 93

[Report by correspondent Slavko Rako for Croatian radio from Mostar]

[Text] There was infantry arms fire in Mostar last night and explosions from hand-held launcher shells and rocket-propelled grenades could be heard. Members of Muslim forces opened sniper fire as well. Members of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] did not respond to the provocations, it has been announced in the command of the eastern Herzegovina operational zone.

A UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] convoy of vehicles has just left the blue helmets' headquarters in Medjugorje on its way to Jablanica and Konjic. Members of the Croat-Muslim commission who should arrange an exchange of imprisoned civilians and soldiers have also left Medjugorje in the convoy.

Another meeting between the Croat-Muslim commission whose task is to implement the Petkovic-Halilovic Medjugorje agreement has begun in Mostar. Lists of imprisoned civilians and captured soldiers should be drawn up and exchanged at the morning meeting. These people should be exchanged this afternoon, ie, they will be allowed to cross from the left to the right, and the right to the left bank of the River Neretva.

Federal Army Attacks Reported

AU2605093693

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0800 GMT on 26 May carries in its regular 14-minute newscast several reports on the fighting in the republic.

Reporting from Maglaj, Hajrudin Sermic says that "the situation in the town this morning is identical to yesterday's—hellish, and, like yesterday, at 0825 [0625 GMT] the criminals started blasting their destructive howitzer

shells at the town center itself. It looks as though the 35,000 citizens are to have another horrible day." He says that "until midnight last night, the Chetniks fired howitzer and tank shells and mortars at the town. Several civilians were wounded and the material damage is vast. The town's defensive positions were also pounded until late into the night with artillery, particularly in the region of Plane. This morning Stari Grad was shelled. The Chetniks are hurriedly concentrating their forces and tanks on this front. We call on all international humanitarian organizations, UNPROFOR, and the EC mission to help this town with food, medicine, and sanitary material, but first to stop the killing of innocent civilians."

In his report from Brcko, Hamiz Deronjic says that "the artillery attacks on the defensive positions of the free Brcko territory intensified overnight. The Chetniks used 60-mm and 82-mm mortars to pound the area in and around Licki Most, while Lipovac was exposed to mortar fire and 30-mm antiaircraft gun fire throughout the night. However, Brod had the worst of it, being exposed to fire from Praga, machine guns, Broving, mortars, recoilless guns, and (?T-12) guns. The Chetniks also used 82-mm mortars against Bajici." Deronjic claims that "the Yugoslav aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina continues unhindered in the skies. At about 2300 [2100 GMT] last night, three aircraft belonging to the Yugoslav Army were registered over Brcko. Two helicopters flew from Pelagicevo to Brcko, while one flew in the opposite direction. This morning, sometime between 0700 and 0800, NATO planes flew over the free Brcko territory."

The Gradacac Information Center reports that "it was relatively quiet overnight as the aggressor regrouped his forces. The movement of smaller convoys of vehicles was observed along the usual routes in occupied Posavina."

The Second Corps Third Operative Group Information Center reports from Kladanj that "the aggressor intensified his combat activities overnight, using antiaircraft guns and machine guns in addition to the usual small arms. The Chetniks from (?Celic) also used 82-mm mortars in the evening against the front line of our defense." The report says that "our forces did not respond to these provocations."

Reporting from Olovo, Velid Djindo says that "the aggressor used heavy artillery along the 40-kilometer front line late yesterday evening. The rest of the night was marked by occasional fire from the aggressor's antiaircraft guns and machine guns, and small arms. It is quiet this morning."

As for the situation in Sarajevo, the studio announcer says that it is quiet at the moment.

'Bestial' Attacks on Maglaj

LD2505214993 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] Chetnik hordes launched their fiercest attack today on Maglaj. These bestial attacks on civilians and civilian buildings have been unabating for 10 days now.

[Reporter] The suffering of the innocent people and impotent citizens of Maglaj is continuing. Chetniks have been firing 105-, 122-, and 155-mm howitzer shells and tank and mortar shells [words indistinct] today. They have continued to destroy everything that was made by human hand. Buildings were or are still on fire. Some civilians have been seriously wounded.

The fate of Vukovar has befallen this town. Unprecedented crimes of genocide are being committed against the citizens of Maglaj by Chetniks from Mount Ozren, volunteers from Serbia, and mercenaries from Russia, while the world public is watching silently and coldly.

UNPROFOR Report

AU2605100293 Paris AFP in English 0934 GMT 26 May 93

[Text] Sarajevo, May 26 (AFP)—Some five people are being killed daily and another 30 or so wounded in the northern Bosnian town of Maglaj, under attack by Bosnian Serb forces for the past week, the U.N. Protection Force [UNPROFOR] reported Wednesday.

Spokesman Barry Frewer said U.N. personnel were visiting the mainly Moslem town every day, and had noted that the shelling diminished while they were there, but that it intensified again as soon as they left.

Commander Frewer described the shelling as "heavy." He said the U.N. force was planning to continue visiting the town.

He meanwhile reported mortar and tank fire in the Serb-held neighbourhood of Grbavica in Sarajevo Tuesday, and round the president's office, but said the situation in the besieged capital had been otherwise "very quiet."

The situation round the central Bosnian town of Zenica, wracked recently by Moslem-Croat fighting, was "still very tense," he said, and hostilities had broken out close to the central town of Vitez, from where the British U.N. battalion was fanning out in continuing efforts to build confidence.

U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees spokesman John McMillan said personnel working for his agency had reported that some Serb troops had left their positions round the demilitarised eastern town of Srebrenica for deployment around Gorazde, an eastern town under siege by the Serbs, but the UNPROFOR could not confirm this.

Croat, Muslim Attacks on Serbs Reported

LD2505163093 Pale Radio-Televizija Republike Srpske Studio-S Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] The enemy intensified its provocations with infantry and antiaircraft weapons last night on the Herzegovina battlefield. The information service of the Herzegovina Corps [Serb forces] stated that soldiers of the regular army of the Republic of Croatia attacked the villages of Poljice and Ljekova from their positions in the occupied part of the Trebinje municipality [Bosnia-Herzegovina]. Two Serb houses in the village of Zagradine were set on fire.

At the Stolac-Capljina and Mostar-Nevesinje parts of the battlefield HVO [Croatian Defense Council] units have been opening fire with antiaircraft weapons, targeting Serb defense lines. Over the last three days the HVO has been constantly targeting the strategic point of Meteriz in the Ljubinje municipality.

In the northern Herzegovina part of the battlefield, Muslim units have continued with their attacks from the direction of Rogoj and Trnovo towards Dobro Polje and Serb positions in the Konjic area. One Serb soldier was killed in a Muslim attack in the Bijela area yesterday and five soldiers were lightly wounded in the Foca area. Serb defense lines have not been changed and heavy losses in manpower and combat equipment have been inflicted on the enemy.

Muslims Launch Attack in Hadzici, Ilidza

LD2505145893 Pale Radio-Televizija Republike Srpske Studio-S Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 25 May 93

[Report by correspondent Nedeljko Zelenovic]

[Text] The enemy has massively violated the cease-fire on the Ilidza-Hadzici battlefield again today. After 1200 the enemy launched an 82-mm mortar attack from the direction of Golo Brdo and Lokve on Mount Igman, at the local cemetery in Hadzici where a ceremony to honor Serb soldiers killed on last 25 May was taking place. UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] members who came to Hadzici at the invitation of Serb military authorities also came under enemy fire.

In the Ilidza area of the battlefield Islamic soldiers have been opening sniper fire along the entire demarcation line, in particular in the Nedzarici area, on Kasindol Street, and in Doglodi. The jihadi soldiers have also been using antitank missiles, in particular from the direction of Stup and Stup hill. Milovan Golijanin was killed by snipers today on Kasindol Street.

Boban Condemns World for Allowing Aggression

AU2505120093 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network in German 1000 GMT 25 May 93

[Karl Jakowsky report; recorded statements by Bosnian Croat leader Mate Boban in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed German translation]

[Text] [Jakowsky] Mate Boban, the Croat leader in Bosnia-Herzegovina, has his headquarters in Grude—19 months ago he founded the Croat community of Herceg-Bosna there. He gave the interview in the headquarters of the HVO, the regular army of the Croatian people, which is currently fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina. For Mate Boban there is still no alternative to the Vance-Owen plan. If Bosnia-Herzegovina remains a state, all three peoples must have equal rights in this state and must be able to live there as they like. Boban rejects the proposal by Serbian leader Karadzic to have three republics in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In his view, the Serbs are striving for Greater Serbia, which is to include Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Asked about a way out of the crisis, Boban said:

[Boban] Where is the way out. The world has not done anything against the Serbian aggression. The world will continue not to do anything in the future, too. The world should be honest. It should leave us alone in our bitterness and in our difficult struggle against the aggression. Then things will be as we will solve them. I think we will die in dignity and the world will not cry over our deathbed. We are a people who do not like to see anybody cry, and we are used to dying without crying.

[Jakowsky] Asked about the fighting between Croats and Muslims, Boban says that the reasons for these battles lie in the current situation. The Muslims still envisage Bosnia-Herzegovina as a central Muslim state. Boban also says that the Muslims did not want to defend their country against the Serbs and, as a result, they lost much. Now they are looking for another way out by conquering other parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which are basically Croatian. Now they are fighting against us, Croat leader Boban says, because they expect it to be easier to gain something. At the same time, however, they leave their own land and their own weapons in Srebrenica, Zepa, and Gorazde to the Serbs.

Regarding the massacres among the civilian population, Mate Boban says that all soldiers and HVO leaders, who have violated humaneness and martial law, will be arrested and punished. The Croatian actions were only a response to actions by the enemy.

In conclusion of the interview, Boban once again states that the Croatian policy is expressed by the Vance-Owen plan. However, this plan is not a dogma.

[Boban] I have become a great skeptic, because I see that the world is now taking leave of its own plan, the plan it proposed. When the plan was presented, everyone was full of euphoria. As soon as the world must do something to implement the plan, everyone retreats again. The world should let us die in dignity and not give us false hope.

Croatians Attack Serbs in Southern RSK

LD2505135393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1314 GMT 25 May 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Knin, May 25 (TANJUG)—A woman was seriously hurt in an attack by Croatian artillery on Obrovac (southern part of the Republic of Serb Krajina) during the night between Monday and Tuesday, the command of the RSK army said on Tuesday.

The attack with 120 mm mortars came after a week of quiet in the area.

Croatian forces also shelled four Serb-populated villages along the Zadar-Benkovac and Novigrad axes in the southern part of the U.N.-protected RSK.

In the neighbouring RSK region of Lika, sector "North," Croatian forces shelled the Serb villages of Barlete, Medak and Citluk with mortars and tank guns.

A Croatian army terrorist group was spotted by RSK troops in the area of the Sunja forest, also in sector North.

The Serbs proclaimed the RSK in 1991 in areas inside the administrative borders of Croatia where they are the majority population in protest over Croatia's secession from Yugoslavia and the degradation of their status in its new constitution from a nation to a national minority.

Croatia on January 22 launched an aggression on the southern part of the RSK, and continues to attack the U.N.-protected territory in spite of condemnation by the world public and a U.N. Security Council resolution demanding that it waithdraw its forces to the positions they held before the aggression was started. Croatian troops are also staging constant armed provocations in other parts of the RSK.

Civilians Wounded

LD2605084093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0751 GMT 26 May 93

[Text] Knin, 26 May (TANJUG)—Several civilians were wounded and many buildings damaged in last night's artillery attack on Obrovac [Serb town north of Zadar] and its suburbs, the main headquarters of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] army stated this morning. The 155-mm howitzer attack on Obrovac lasted for more than an hour.

Croatian forces also launched tank and mortar attacks on Biljani Donji, Biljani Gornji, Smiljcic, and other villages on the Zadar-Benkovac part of the front.

According to the statement of the main headquarters, RSK units fiercely responded to all of these attacks.

RSK Serbs Refuse To Attend Talks With Croatians

LD2505135593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1333 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] Knin, 25 May (TANJUG)—The government of the republic of Serb Krajina decided at a session in Knin today not to send its state delegation to Zagreb to attend negotiations with a delegation of the Republic of Croatia, which were due to be held tomorrow, Krajina Minister of Foreign Affairs Slobodan Jarcevic has told TANJUG.

According to him, "Croatia's behavior is treacherous. It has invited us to talks, and at the same time it is continuing with the aggression and attacks on Serb villages and positions of the Serb Krajina army, in which civilian population and Krajina fighters perish."

In an interview with Krajina TV today, he said that since 15 May, when the Croatia-Krajina negotiations started, 12 citizens of Krajina have been killed in Croatian attacks.

Croatian, Serb Krajina Prisoners Exchanged

LD2505163593 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] POW's were exchanged with our enemies in Sajnerica, a UN Protection Force checkpoint near Otocac, this afternoon. The exchange is a result of negotations between representatives of the Croatian authorities and the rebel Serbs. Knin's prison released 29 Croatian soldiers, some of whom had spent over a year there. As for the other side, 28 captives were present at the exchange, five of whom desisted from the exchange as they wanted to remain on free Croatian territory.

UNHCR Envoy: Solution to Conflict 'Pipedream'

AU2405175893 Paris AFP in English 1649 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] Zagreb, May 24 (AFP)—A lasting solution to reverse the effects of Serbian ethnic cleansing is still a pipedream, outgoing UNHCR [UN High Commissioner for Refugees] representative Jose Maria Mendiluce said Monday [24 May].

The outspoken envoy of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees leaves the former Yugoslavia after an 18-month mission which, despite the daunting task of aiding growing numbers of civilians while war rumbles on, has drawn plaudits from many European diplomats based here.

A day before his departure, in a plea to uphold refugees' rights, he told AFP: "Although we can feel content at having saved the lives of hundreds of thousands of people, we remain very far from finding a political solution offering them the hope of returning home and reversing the effects of ethnic cleansing."

The UNHCR, the body charged with coordinating humanitarian aid in the former Yugoslavia, has seen the scale of its task increase more than ten-fold during a year-and-a-half of fighting.

Called in to help 300,000 people displaced by the 1991 war between Croatia and nationalist Serbs in that republic, its 550-strong team now has more than 3.8 million civilians in need of help throughout the former Yugoslavia.

Although stressing there were no innocent parties in this "sordid war" against civilian populations, Mendiluce, a 42-year-old Spaniard, was in "no doubt" that the principal culprits were the Serbs, with Moslems their main victims.

"What has struck me is the madness unleashed by ultra-nationalist leaders, which can strike anyone," he said.

For him the main priority remains peace, but "a true peace upholding human rights which would permit two million refugees to return home."

Although refusing to comment on either the new international joint action plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina or the Vance-Owen peace plan it effectively discredits, Mendiluce warned that Serbian and Croatian territorial gains—won at the expense of civilian populations—were on the point of being ratified by "realpolitik."

"What price should refugee populations be expected to pay?" he asked.

He identified as a longer-term risk to civilians the "collective amnesia" of an international community withdrawing after the end of hostilities in the mistaken belief that the massacres and explusions behind the frontlines would cease.

He described as "academic" the charge that aid agencies were involuntarily helping the ethnic purificiation process by accepting displacements of certain populations.

"We have done everything to prevent displacements caused by famine," he said. "But against terror, bombardments and snipers we are powerless."

And for families risking extermination, evacuation was sometimes the only option.

"I prefer having 40 more refugees than 40 extra corpses," he said.

Mendiluce, who is to represent the High Commissioner in Brussels, will be replaced by Australian Nicholas Morris.

1992 Inflation Rate Reportedly at 1,200 Percent

AU2505122093 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 25 May 93 p 18

[APA report: "Croatia With 1,200 Percent Inflation"]

[Text] According to the Austrian trade delegate, Muehlberger, in 1992 Croatia experienced an inflation rate of 1,200 percent. During the first quarter of 1993 inflation amounted to 110 percent. In 1992 the country achieved a trade surplus of $303 million. Its foreign currency reserves amount to $850 million. Austria was able to supply Croatia with goods, without change, at a value of 1.9 billion schillings; imports from Croatia amounted to 937 million schillings. A considerable part of the exports consisted of grain; imports mainly consisted of textiles processed by subcontractors.

Federal

Churkin Statement Following Talk With Milosevic

LD2505105493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1009 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] Belgrade, 25 May (TANJUG)—With Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic we had "a good discussion about the plan for joint action" for Bosnia adopted last Saturday [22 May] in Washington by the foreign ministers of Russia, the United States, Great Britain, France, and Spain.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin's special envoy, Vitaliy Churkin, told journalists this following his two-hour talk with Milosevic in Belgrade.

According to Churkin, "President Milosevic approved of some of his suggestions" concerning the progressive implementation of some elements of the Vance-Owen plan. We agreed to have very close cooperation with the cochairmen of the conference on the former Yugoslavia in order to "lead all three sides [in Bosnia] to a solution that will be satisfactory for all of them and for us as well," the Russian envoy said.

Concerning the deployment of international observers on the border between Yugoslavia and Bosnia, Churkin said that further consideration needs to be given to that issue because, according to him, this will be a "considerable contribution" to increase Serbia and Yugoslavia's credibility at a time when "some people in certain countries still have doubts regarding the implementation of certain decisions."

Milosevic and Churkin also spoke about the problem of Kosovo. In that regard the Russian envoy said that President Milosevic informed him about the policy of the Serbian Government toward Kosovo, particularly steps it is going to make in the education sphere.

Churkin described his mission as being in connection with "one of the paragraphs of the program of the joint action" regarding the observance of human rights in Kosovo. He stressed: "We do not support a declaration on the independence of Kosovo and will continue to consider Kosovo part of Serbia."

Churkin recalled, not going into details, that the attitude of Russian diplomacy is that the Vance-Owen peace process should be "used now." "We should take the opportunity now, not leave things as they are," he said.

Churkin went on to say that the Russian side will set in motion the process of implementation of the Vance-Owen peace plan in order to achieve "a good and satisfactory solution for the three sides in Bosnia."

Russian envoy Churkin is to visit Kosovo today, after that he is leaving Yugoslavia.

Milosevic's 'Principled Stance' on Border Observers

AU2505201993 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 25 May 93

[Interview with Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Republic of Serbia, by Zoran Jevdjovic; in Belgrade on 25 May—recorded]

[Text] [Jevdjovic] Mr. President, let us first hear your impressions, after the talks with Vitaliy Churkin, special Russian envoy to the talks on solving the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Russian assistant foreign minister. As far as we know, Mr. Churkin has come with, how shall I put it, reports on the results of the Washington meeting of the five foreign ministers.

[Milosevic] Well, let me be very brief. I think that the meeting of the five ministers is very significant, and I think that the most important parts of all the elements contained in the result of this meeting should be derived from it. The most important thing is the following; namely, the Washington meeting, with a choice between continuing the peace process and a possible military intervention, opted for the peace process.

This is a great step towards removing the danger of war in these areas, a danger of the war escalating, and undoubtedly a step that will prompt and speed up the peace process. However, keeping this in mind, I think it would be irresponsible if anyone should find, in this, reasons for great self-satisfaction. The real answer to this proposed option, which is the only right one, is, precisely, to have every one of the political factors that are participating in solving the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina do everything to ensure that peace is finally achieved, and that the negotiations are finally speeded up, and a solution is found that will protect the interests of all three sides equally.

Such an approach is the only responsible one. Therefore, one should activate the continuation of the work on the peace plan and bring the peace process to a successful end. I am sure, and this is, after all, confirmed by everything about which we talked last week with our interlocutors here in Belgrade, that there is no alternative to peace, that is, that any foreign military interference into this civil war would only lead to the deepening of the crisis and an escalation of the war, and that only peace negotiations can bring a final just and reliable solution to this crisis.

[Jevdjovic] There is also the new Russian role. Where do you see the further (?efforts) of Russian diplomacy?

[Milosevic] Well, it is clear that the Russian role in this was very constructive. I hope that, among the five ministers, this role will continue to be constructive.

[Jevdjovic] Tell us only one more thing. There is a question that is topical in the wake of these Washington proposals: observers along the borders between Bosnia

and Yugoslavia and, some people say, possibly along the borders between Bosnia and Croatia.

[Milosevic] We have a principled stance here and this stance of ours is known: We want cooperation with the international community, but are of the opinion that successful cooperation between our country and the international community and all other countries, if we really want it to be successful, can be so only if it is founded on an equal basis. That means that we must solve our internal questions by ourselves alone. That means that a foreign presence cannot, by any means, help solve our internal political questions. Thus, our stance here is completely exact and completely clear.

[Jevdjovic] Thank you, Mr. President.

[Milosevic] Not at all.

Sanctions Hit 'Backbone' of Economy

LD2605123493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0949 GMT 26 May 93

[Text] Belgrade, May 26 (TANJUG)—The economic war, which practically started even before the introduction of the U.N. economic sanctions on May 30, 1992 against enterprises in Serbia (and Montenegro), was aimed primarily at the metal and electrical manufacturing industries, which constitute the backbone of the economy, TANJUG has learned from Milovan Matic, the secretary of the committee for this branch of the industry at the Serbian Chamber of Commerce.

This industrial branch includes the machine building industry, the electrical equipment industry, the production of transportation facilities, tractors and rolling stock, shipbuilding, the metal-working industry, production in foundries and the military industry.

Matic says it is not possible to ascertain whether this most important production branch, based on sophisticated technology, has been affected more by the embargo on imports or by the embargo on exports, since it was previously closely incorporated in the international labour division.

For instance, Yugoslavia used to export some 90 percent of its shipbuilding production and about 70 percent of machine tools it produced, as well as most of the manufactured railway cars, tractors, buses and trucks.

Decades-long cooperation with some of the largest European companies—Mercedes, Siemens, Phillips, Fiat, Lombardini, Iveco, Opel and many others—was sharply interrupted despite the existence of contracts on long-term cooperation and very close technological cooperation.

There were two options after the introduction of the strict economic sanctions: to fold one's arms and wait for the embargo to be lifted or to launch a comprehensive plan of substitution, both of materials and components.

In a relatively short period—in just a few months—the Zastava car factory managed, together with its subcontractors, to start the manufacture of over 800 components previously produced in the ex-Yugoslav republics. There are many similar examples in other branches of the industry as well.

A wide range of substitution programmes has thus been created to rely on domestic resources and possibilities. A whole series of new products, both simple ones and technologically complex, is now being manufactured. The greatest problem, however, is the shortage of funds for financing substitution programmes, since enterprises have mostly exhausted their own financial means, says Miroslav Crncevic, a member of the presidency of the Serbian Chamber of Commerce.

Charges Against Sandzak Editor Detailed

93BA1028E Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Apr 93 p 14

[Article by Z.S.: "Why Charges Have Been Brought Against Sefket Krcic in Novi Pazar: Editor in Court"]

[Text] *Sefket Krcic, the chief and responsible editor of the magazine for Sandzak Muslims SANDZAK, which is published in Novi Pazar, will sit on the defendant's bench in the Okrug Court in Novi Pazar, most likely by the end of May. The charge being brought against Krcic by Salih Karisik, the okrug deputy public prosecutor, is that he committed the criminal act of provoking national, racial, and religious hatred, discord, or intolerance, based on Article 134 of the Yugoslav Criminal Code.*

In an indictment issued several days ago and lodged with the Okrug Court, okrug deputy public prosecutor Salih Karisik charges Krcic with the following: "... during 1992 and 1993, in his capacity as chief and responsible editor of the magazine SANDZAK, he maliciously and untruthfully represented the position of Muslims who live in this area." As proof of his allegations, the deputy prosecutor cites text excerpts from the column "Letter from the Chief Editor," which Krcic published in the March 1992 issue of the magazine. "Serb terrorists from Sandzak are demonstrating their well-known sadomasochism, which is particularly manifested in the performance and provocation of incidents...."

"Muslims are experiencing violent psychological torture by the Serbian state, which through its mass media tells 10 million Serbs that they will be threatened by Sandzak," the indictment quotes parts of Krcic's article. Krcic also faces charges for the column in No. 6-7 of 1992, in which he writes: "Sandzak is nationally occupied. Military aircraft are flying over it (right over the roofs of houses), force is being demonstrated, and fear and panic are being sown. Through its military and police, Serbia is endangering the physical safety of the citizens. In short, the Muslim nation is in jeopardy and is fighting for survival."

The editor of SANDZAK also faces criminal charges for an article in No. 8 from October 1992, in which he wrote the following, according to the indictment: "Large-scale plunder of private capital is being carried out. Recently in Novi Pazar, on market day, the financial police (reinforced by groups from Kraljevo, Raska, Baljevac, and elsewhere) carried out an unprecedented confiscation of property from private businessmen, whereby no receipts whatsoever were issued. This was done because the Muslims owned imported goods (with all the documentation). In the middle of the night in the center of Novi Pazar, reservists raid houses and apartments and tell Muslim families to move, with various insults they challenge them at knife point. When citizens go to the police they are told to stop bothering them."

According to the charges in the indictment, Krcic also "provoked and stirred up national and religious hatred between the Muslims and Serbs living in the FRY" through an article in the February 1993 issue of SANDZAK in which he writes, "Under the apartheid system, Sandzak Muslims are condemned to conditions unbefitting human beings. This apartheid system is dictated by the Serbo-Chetnik authorities (in Serbia and Montenegro) through their genocidal-national programs, beginning with I. Garasanin (1844), the Serbian war goals (1914), and V. Cubrilovic (1937), which, through this war, are being put into practice by the fascists S. Milosevic and D. Cosic. That is why talking about this subject is not an easy task. In order to speak the truth at this time and under these conditions when we find ourselves at the brink of survival, one needs more than life; one needs great force of patience, for which each of us individually bears great responsibility and consequences."

Okrug deputy public prosecutor Salih Karisik believes that this type of writing by Krcic provokes "the generation of fear among Muslims of military conflict in this region. During 1992, several families in the Novi Pazar, Tutin, and Sjenica region temporarily left their homes to go abroad, fearing and thinking that the allegations in the articles written by the accused were true, which led to a significant worsening of the security situation in this region, even though the accused knew or could have known that the events that he was describing were untrue and that in this way he was creating hatred among Muslims toward Serbs and provoking national and religious hatred between Muslims and Serbs living in the FRY," the rationale for the indictment states.

"In these difficult times, Muslims and Serbs from this region have found the strength and ways to preserve and foster their traditionally good relations of coexistence, even despite the fact that military conflict involving both Serbs and Muslims is taking place in the immediate vicinity, in Bosnia. However, this region too has become the target of individuals coming from the outside who are acting to destroy the greatest value of this region—coexistence—and through these and similar writings and stories they are destroying these relations, provoking hatred, predicting a threat to Muslims coming from Serbs, or to Serbs coming from Muslims. As a result, the people, believing such individuals, fear for their lives and further survival in this region," concludes deputy prosecutor Salih Karisik in the indictment against Sefket Krcic.

Krcic is out on bail, and the trial is expected to take place in late May, in all likelihood.

Fuel Shortage, Importance of Coal Emphasized

93BA1000D Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Apr 93 p 13

[Article by J. Putnikovic: "The Only Hope, and It Uncertain"]

[Text] Buy coal and firewood while there still is some—that is the recommendation of those familiar with the energy situation, who are warning the public that next winter there is every chance that we will be shivering in the dark.

After all, there can only be a smaller supply of petroleum products and natural gas, and electric power producers are announcing that they do not have a magic wand with which to make up the shortage of two million tons of coal which up to now have come from Bosnia and Herzegovina, the shortage of fuel oil, heavy boiler fuel....

To the average citizen of the FRY, however, this advice, however seriously he might take it, might seem like a cynical recommendation.

After all, a ton of raw lump coal from Kolubara costs 4,175,571 dinars, and a ton of the somewhat better coal from Pljevlja all of 4,787,566 dinars? The dried coal known as "Vreoci," which will cost 4,324,904 dinars per ton, is supposed to arrive any day in the yard of Kopaonik Ogrev.

Nine Paychecks for Heating

"The price also includes home delivery," says Milan Novkovic, chief of the Belgrade office of Kopaonik Ogrev in response to our comment that these amounts are too large an expenditure for household budgets which have already been cut back. Nevertheless, there are customers. To be sure, not as many as in previous years. What is more, no one any longer buys 10 tons at once, but two or three. And then if they are able, and they get the money together, they will buy a couple more. Nor are those people who heat with wood in any better situation. After all, a cubic meter of firewood, split, it is true, and delivered to the house, costs 2,665,683 dinars. When you realize that the government has fixed this month's minimum wage at an amount that barely exceeds 3 million dinars, and that many workers do not receive even that much, it is easy to calculate that 10 of these "loads" of wood—the minimum amount necessary for an average winter—means setting aside nine of those paychecks for

just one household. And then provided that the minimum wage and the price of coal rise by the same percentage.

By contrast with last winter, this year the government has publicly acknowledged that there must be an appropriate policy before the heating season comes. The Serbian government is planning to commit 450 million dinars from primary note issue to finance the purchase of coal for thermal electric power plants—to generate electric power.

Mine representatives have submitted a list of their needs to the Serbian Chamber of Commerce. It says that they need 1.9 billion dinars for maintenance and replacement parts, for acquisition of necessary new equipment and production supplies, and also for miscellaneous costs indispensable to mining coal at the Kolubara, Kostolac, and Kosovo strip mines and in underground mines.

Barrier to Kilowatt Guzzlers

Coal mining is in question because the mines lack petroleum products for their machines and to carry the workers to the face and because underground mines do not have blasting caps and detonators and necessary quantities of explosives.

Thus, coal, which has been seen as the most tangible and accessible fuel in the FRY energy balance, is also an uncertain guarantor. Not only to make up the shortage of other fuels, which on the basis of reserves in the country it could do, but even to meet the level of consumption in previous years. At the federal Ministry for the Economy, they judge that the risk factor of a coal shortage ranges from 20 percent (strip mines) to 50 percent (underground mining).

"It is hard to say when Obrenovac will go off-line because we cannot send coal from Kolubara," they say in that collective, recalling that Serbia's electric power system had a hard time this winter when only the Nikola Tesla B TE [Thermal Power Plant] at Obrenovac went off-line.

Thermal electric power plants are the largest coal consumers. In last year's energy balance, all of 34.2 million tons of coal, out of the planned production of 38.5 million, were earmarked for these "power factories." And in the wintertime, when power consumption is highest because of heating, the generation of electric power depends precisely on the operation of thermal plants.

Foreseeing that this coming winter many people will again begin to use electric heat because again the heating plants will only take the chill off apartments or because they did not get in a supply of coal in advance, they are proposing in the Serbian Electric Power Industry cessation of production of electric heaters and devices for electric heating, boilers for steam heating using electric power, electric water heaters, and other devices which are big kilowatt guzzlers. With all this in mind, there is nothing for the public to do except to get in some supply of coal or firewood in advance. And, of course, to hope that the coming winter will not be as cold and long as this past one was.

Serbia

Labor, Social Affairs Minister Resigns

LD2505153293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1411 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] Belgrade, 25 May (TANJUG)—The Serbian Assembly was informed today that Jovan Radic, the republic's minister for labor and veterans' and social issues, has resigned because, as he explained, "he was not in a position to address all his responsibilities and tasks."

Radic will remain at his post until a new minister is elected.

Macedonia

Crvenkovski Pledges Enforcement of Sanctions

LD2505225293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1709 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] Skopje, 25 May (TANJUG)—Macedonian Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski received Norman Anderson, the head of the CSCE mission in this republic, in Skopje today. Anderson drew attention to the need for the Republic of Macedonia to continue to observe the sanctions against FRY, because, according to him, "only in this way can the republic retain its international reputation." The head of the CSCE mission in Macedonia supports "justified government demands" for compensations for losses incurred due to sanctions.

Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski assessed the work of the CSCE mission in this republic as "successful." According to Crvenkovski, "Macedonia will observe the sanctions, although consequences will be more serious for it than for FRY."

International Troops 'Welcome on Condition'

LD2505224193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1625 GMT 25 May 93

[Excerpt] Skopje, 25 April (TANJUG)—Macedonian radio today said that international troops are welcome on condition that their purpose is to preserve the new state's territorial integrity and sovereignty and that this republic's territory is not used as a launching pad for offensive operations against neighboring countries.

Skopje radio finds a motive for the deployment of armed forces of the United Nations, NATO or the United States in "the continuing practice of denying the Republic of Macedonia by Greece, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Albania, as well as in mutual disputes among the neighbors of the new state."

Macedonia radio's open and sudden agreement to the stationing of foreign troops in this former Yugoslav republic is seen by some political observers in Skopje as "preparing the public" on the basis of which they draw their conclusion that the stationing of foreign troops in Macedonia is already "a fait accompli" and will soon take place.

The Executive Council of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization - Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity [Unutrasnja Makedonska Revolucionarna Organizacija - Demokratska Partija za Makedonsko Nacionalno Jedinstvo—VMRO-DPMNE], the largest opposition party in the republic's assembly, supports in its special statement today the stationing of U.S. troops in the Republic of Macedonia, regarding it as a "contribution" to this republic's sovereignty.

At the same time the VMRO-DPMNE demands that the Macedonian authorities welcome this and ask for admission to NATO so that the sovereignty of the new state "can be permanently protected." [passage omitted]

Kosovo

Serb Reports on Police Shooting Rejected

AU2505150193 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT No 101 in English 24 May 93

[Unattributed report: "Kosova Information Center Refutes Serbian Press Allegations"—issued by the Democratic League of Kosovo]

[Text] Some Belgrade-based newspapers including BORBA, POLITIKA, VECERNJE NOVOSTI, and Prishtina-based Serbian daily JEDINSTVO reported today that the KIC [Kosovo Information Center] allegedly reported even before any official statement or report on the incident in Gllogovc was issued telling the public that the incident was a result of shootings between the police themselves. BORBA goes even further citing Rugova as allegedly telling foreign journalists that the Serbian policemen were killed in a police shoot-out.

For the sake of truth, it should be mentioned once again that the KIC's first report on the incident was issued at 1030 [0830 GMT], and aside from the reporting from the field, the report also quoted TV Belgrade transmitted at around 0900 on the killing of two Serb policemen and wounding of five others.

As far as allegations on Dr. Rugova's alleged statement, it is utterly untrue that Dr. Rugova gave any statement whatsoever to any kind of mass media concerning the case yesterday. This is clearly another example of the special war waged against Dr. Rugova, the LDK [Democratic League of Kosovo], and other political subjects, as well as against the peaceful stance of the Albanians for the solution of the Kosova problem, which excludes any use of force and act of terrorism and violence.

Situation 'Tense'

AU2505160493 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] After the incident in Gllogovc, the situation in this commune and other villages of this district is more than tense. The killing of two policemen, which remains enigmatic, has provided a reason to exert repression and violence in other regions in Kosova, too. It is reported that in the most strategic points in Kosova, the Serbian police and army are exerting a continuous control over citizens by harassing many pedestrians.

It is reported that the police and army have increased their forces on Prishtina-Mitrovice Street. The Serbian police and army have also increased their forces in Gjakove, Suharek, and Prizren.

Curfew Imposed

LD2505140993 Tirana ATA in English 1030 GMT 25 May 93

[Report by Belui Jashari, ATA correspondent in Pristina]

[Text] Tirana, May 25 (ATA)—Glogovac, Drenica town, where the curfew was imposed since Saturday, is still under the police terror. On May 23 the police made house searches and maltreated people. They controlled all the vehicles and fully blocked the path leading to the center of the city. According to reports from Glogovac and the Human Rights and Freedoms Council centered in Pristina, [words indistinct] the Serb police launched large scale raids in Cikatove village. The police beat more than 100 people and arrested over 120 Albanians. The curfew was also imposed on other parts of Drenica. The witnesses briefed the Human Rights Council that police forces concentrated on the crossroads of Klina and Kijeva. They controlled and raided the vehicles of passengers. It is also reported that the curfew was also imposed on May 24 in Skenderaj too, another town of Drenica .

The events which took place in Glogovac on May 22 served as a cause for the immediate heightening of tension. The Serb mass media reports that 2 police were killed and five others got wounded.

The state in Glogovac and other regions of Drenica continues to be grave and tense and is fraught with dangers.

Call For UN Troops

AU2505140793 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT No 101 in English 24 May 93

[Unattributed report: "LDK Condemns Any Act of Terror and Violence"—issued by the Democratic League of Kosovo]

[Text] LDK [Democratic League of Kosovo] condemned yesterday the act of terrorism in Gllogovc that left 2

policemen killed and five wounded, as well as any act of terror and violence. In a statement issued yesterday, the LDK Presidency said:

"The unclear, and in many aspects enigmatic killing of two Serbian policemen and wounding of five others, an act which we condemn as any act of terror and violence, and which may be a timed act and a provocation prepared by aggressive military circles, is being utilized as a pretext for a new wave of brutal terror against the Albanian population of Gllogovc and entire Drenica district. It is increasing the tensions and bringing Kosova to the brink of a conflict of unpredictable proportions.

"It is evident that the permanent repression, enormous deployment of military, police, and paramilitary forces, and the armament of irresponsible groups, instead of creating calm and stability, are becoming sources and catalysts of jeopardy and conflicts.

"The brutal terror against a whole population, which has been declared guilty without examination may result in unpredictable tragic consequences. Apart from the way the incident happened, the police violence of such proportions, which has been prepared in advance, cannot be justified. Therefore, we demand immediate halt of terror and violence against the Albanian population of Drenica and Kosova.

"The currently created situation convinces us of the need to strongly seek peaceful solution to the Kosova issue. But, it also convinces us that the peaceful solution is not [words misprinted] acceptable for the forces of hegemony and aggression, which, through the mouth of Seselj, demand the extermination of the Albanians, as a precondition for the tranquility of Kosova.

"Therefore, the increased international presence and the deployment of the UN peacekeeping troops to Kosova is indispensable."

Serb Military Continues Movements, Exercises

AU2505154093 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT No 101 in English 24 May 93

[Unattributed report: "Further Serbian Military Movements in Kosova"—issued by the Democratic League of Kosovo]

[Text] Serbian military movements, deployment of troops, military exercises and surveying of the terrain, have been continuing in many parts of Kosova during the last weekend.

On Saturday [22 May], at the Millosheve intersection, (Prishtina-Mitrovica road), Serbian officers and soldiers with armored vehicles were stationed. At around 1230 [1030 GMT], these forces left for Prishtina barracks, but they were to re-station later at the same crossroads.

On Sunday [23 May], at 0130, seven Serbian military trucks left Mitrovica and were heading towards Kosova's capital, Prishtina.

Likewise, it is reported that today (Monday) in the morning, a long convoy of some 50 Serbian military trucks, equipped with heavy armament and cannons, left Mitrovica and headed to Prishtina.

Churkin Comments on Kosovo Issues

LD2505162093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1442 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] Pristina, 25 May (TANJUG)—Vitaliy Churkin, special Russian envoy and deputy minister of foreign affairs of the Russian Federation, stated in Pristina today that the resolution of the Kosovo issue should be sought by both sides observing the territorial integrity of Serbia with Kosovo as a part of it, and a status for this area suitable for all sides should be found. This would facilitate the resolution of practical problems, he said.

In the course of his several-hours-long visit to Pristina, Churkin first had talks with Serbian Vice Premier Zoran Arandjelovic and Head of the Kosovo District Milos Simovic. After that the Russian envoy met representatives of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo led by Ibrahim Rugova, members of the permanent CSCE mission in Kosovo, and finally with representatives of the Association of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, and Others for Coexistence Within Serbia and Yugoslavia. All talks were held behind closed doors.

At the conclusion of his visit to Pristina, Vitaliy Churkin stated that human rights in Kosovo must be observed, but that the major powers do not support the declaration on Kosovo independence. He spoke in favor of increasing the number of foreign observers in the province, adding that Russia is also considering the idea of sending its representatives to the CSCE mission.

Churkin described his talks in Pristina as comprehensive. He said that the Kosovo problem is very complex. "I drew everyone's attention to the program adopted in Washington, which includes clear elements for a solution to the Kosovo problem," Churkin said.

Churkin suggested to the authorities and the representatives of Albanian parties that they should cooperate as much as possible with this mission in order to facilitate the resolving of problems in Kosovo. In the course of my talks with Rugova, I particularly stressed the necessity of continuous contact and dialogue with the Serbian authorities, bacause this could lead to a solution to Kosovo's status. I asked all those I met not to exaggerate the problems and to try to normalize the situation, establish contacts, and improve communication, Churkin said.

Following the talks, Zoran Arandjelovic, vice president of the government of the Republic of Serbia, said that the idea of increasing the number of observers in Kosovo would be considered. Arandjelovic welcomed Churkin's statement that the major powers do not support Kosovo's secession, and added that the Russian envoy was told that Kosovo cannot have the kind of status and

autonomy it used to have, since such a status would lead to secession. Arandjelovic stressed that the Republic of Serbia will try to stabilize Kosovo through economic measures and "liberate the Albanians from the claws of those who lead them toward conflict."

Rugova, Churkin Brief Reporters After Meeting

AU2605113893 Tirana ATA in English 1035 GMT 26 May 93

[Text] Tirana, May 26 (ATA)—President of the Republic of Kosova Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, with his co-workers, met yesterday at his seat in Pristine with Vitaliy Churkin, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the Russian Federation and special envoy of Russia's president, Yeltsin, on former Yugoslavia, who was accompanied by officials of the Russian Embassy in Belgrade.

During the one hour talk they discussed the situation in Kosova and possibilities of solving Kosova's question. Dr. Rugova informed Vitaliy Churkin of the grave situation which is becoming increasingly tense and dangerous due to the terror and repression exercised by the Serbian power. Dr. Rugova affirmed Albanian people's definition on Kosova as an independent and neutral state. This should be a more acceptable solution, as it would help realise the interest of the Albanians, Serbs and all the peoples residing in this territory. The Albanians cannot accept solutions which legalise the situation created by the Serbian power through military and police state violence. Serbian authorities have ruined all the institutions in Kosova legalising violence and terror and continue to do so in order to realise the peaceful ethnic cleansing of Kosova from the Albanians, which also is a declared program of Serbia.

Vitaly Churkin familiarized President Rugova with the peace plan which was approved by the five ministers of the UN Security Council permanent member countries, which was approved several days ago in Washington.

During the talk, the Albanian delegation affirmed that the problem of militarized Kosova be solved through peaceful means and expressed their readiness to engage in a serious and equal dialogue. Regarding the five ministers' peace plan, they said that it does not offer an acceptable solution for Kosova and the Albanians, who are occupied in Kosova and separated in state units, the information Centre of Kosova reports.

In our meeting on May 25 with the Russian deputy-minister Mr. Churkin and the advisers of President Yeltsin, we talked on the situation in Kosova, which is very dangerous. On this occasion we also dealt with our political view for solving the problem of Kosova.

We consider this meeting as a positive one and will keep in touch in the future about the question of Kosova and other questions in former-Yugoslavia, Dr. I. Rugova stated to the reporters after the meeting with the Russian deputy minister, Churkin.

In an after talk statement, Mr. Churkin said: I conducted extensive talks with both parties, both with the authorities and with Mr. Rugova, with the CSCE mission, the representatives of the organisation which favour a joint life of all people here. I am conscious that the situation in Kosova is very complicated and I informed all of the plan of action, approved two days ago in Washington by the foreign ministers of Russia, the USA, France, Britain, and Spain, which includes three clear elements: first, human rights in Kosova should be observed, secondly, the statements for Kosova's independence are not supported by these five states, members of the Security Council, and thirdly, there should be an expanded international observation presence in Kosova. I maintain that the CSCE mission is doing a good job here, but I think it has not the sufficient number of persons. Russia is also thinking to send its own representative to the CSCE mission. My appeal for all of you here authorities, Albanians of all convictions, is that the mission should be expanded and there should be a close cooperation with it and try to find a solution to the complicated problem of Kosova. But this is not all as regards the international community's attention on Kosova. I have called on the parties, especially during the talk with Mr. Rugova, for greater contacts and political dialogue to find a solution to the problem of Kosova status. I remind that, as soon as the two parties start to find a solution based on the territorial integrity of Serbia and Kosova as part of Serbia, a status for Kosova will be found which will satisfy both parties and this will then lead to the solution of many significant questions. Based on the good impressions, I would ask all the parties not to complicate problems further. All the politicians responsible should act to tranquillise passions and establish dialogue and communication. We will continue to consider the problem of Kosova and hope it will be solved alongside the other problems in former Yugoslavia.

Prime Minister Puts Forward New Peace Plan

AU2505131993 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22-23 May 93 p 8

[M. Antic report: "Provoke Milosevic, Then Call United Nations for Help"]

[Text] Pristina—Dr. Bujar Bukosi, prime minister of the Albanian Kosmet [Kosovo and Metohija] government in exile, has recently put forward a new, conditionally speaking, Albanian plan for "peace in Kosovo."

Unlike the plan of the undisputed leader of the Kosmet Albanians Ibrahim Rugova, Bukosi's plan is somewhat "shorter" and politically "quieter." Among other demands, that of placing Kosmet under an international protectorate has been thrown out of this plan, and the one on the right of the Albanians to self-determination, that is, to secession, is also not included. Since Bukosi is Rugova's closest associate, who has so far not done anything without the seal of approval from his Pristina headquarters, local observers of political developments assess that he received the "green light" from Rugova to

put forward this version of the Albanian proposal for "peace in Kosovo," even though there is no war here, particularly not of the armed kind.

Bukosi's plan, for which he says that he has the support of "everyone in Kosmet," contains the following eight points: the deployment of UN and NATO peacekeeping forces in adequate numbers to preserve peace; the deployment in our country of a large number of CSCE observers for human rights; the introduction of a no-fly zone over Kosovo; a halt to the Serbian policy of pressure that results in "ethnic cleansing"; the disarming and disengaging of the Serbian paramilitary forces in Kosovo and the placing of their artillery under international control, and the demilitarization of Kosovo; a halt to the Serbian practice of colonizing Kosovo with Serbs from Bosnia and Montenegro; the opening of the airport in Pristina for humanitarian aid, medicine, and other supplies; and the creation of conditions for the unhindered work of the Kosovo parliament (the Albanian illegal one, elected last year).

As an explanation of his "peace plan," Bukosi lists all those well-known accusations directed at Serbia; accusing it of "genocide," "ethnic cleansing," and of "occupying Kosovo," stating that "Serbia has blocked off Kosovo and brought in large military forces that threaten to spark off a massacre of Albanians." He further adds that "this situation cannot continue," and that "the Albanians cannot live peacefully under Serbian brutality." Therefore, "if we are not allowed to realize our rights, our people will have no choice but to take their fate into their own hands." That, according to Bukosi, will be reason enough for the Serbian president "to intervene militarily," a move which will later inflame the Balkans and Europe.

Hunger Striker Protests 'Occupation of RILINDJA'

AU2605092793 Tirana ATA in English 0822 GMT 26 May 93

[Text] Tirana, May 25 (ATA)—Adem Demaci, symbol of the national resistance of the Albanians in Kosova against the Serb occupation, staged a strike of hunger on May 24, made the following exclusive statement to the ATA correspondent in Pristine Behlul Jashari:

"This strike of hunger is a protest against the occupation of RILINDJA by the Serb regime via the phantom enterprise, the so called PANORAMA. Through this strike I intend to protect information, the freedom of speech and thinking. Every man and people in the world, that is the Albanians in Kosova too, should enjoy this right.

This strike is a protest against the regime which does not end violence, war, layoffs, ethnic purging of non-Serb peoples.

This strike is also a protest against the indifferentism of the international public to the Belgrade militarist regime, which is presently trying to shut the Albanians' mouth by means of a certain PANORAMA.

This is also a protest against all the international reporters' association, all our journalist colleagues, who do not raise their voice and do not properly commit themselves in support to our national cause."

Adem Demaci, editor in chief of the weekly Albanian political newspaper, ZERI, held a press conference in the premises of this newspaper and staged the strike of hunger in his office.

Serbs Rename Printing House

AU2605083393 Tirana ATA in English 1209 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] Tirana, 24 May (ATA)—The ATA collaborator in Prishtina Behlul Jashari reports: "The Serbian violent structures in Prishtina replaced the label 'Rilindja' with 'Panorama,' which represents the phantasm enterprise that eliminates the independence of the most important national institution of the Albanian information and culture in Kosova. During the process of changing the name of the 'Rilindja' press building, the atmosphere was tense and provoking for the Albanians. There were Serbian civil armed guards, who since the beginning of this week have been controlling the people going in and out of this building. Some days ago, even the current account of 'Rilindja' has been blocked, a step which leads to the final ruin of the only information, publishing, and graphic enterprise in the Albanian language in Kosova. The Serbian violent structures of 'Panorama' ordered the Serbian violent managers of the printing house not to prepare the Albanian political weekly ZERI. Soon all publications in the Albanian language may be halted, thus leaving Kosova in complete darkness of information."

Catholicism Used To Create Independent Kosovo

93BA1007E Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 5 May 93 p 14

[Article by Milan Laketic under the rubric "Everyday Kosmet—Kosovo and Metohija": "Course To State Through Door of Catholicism"]

[Text] *Welcoming the pope during his visit to Albania, Rugova gave him a stone from the ancient walls at Pristina; the ostensible information center of the "republic of Kosovo" provides Albanian publications with data on army and police movements in this province.*

Pristina, 4 May—On the eve of last week's armed incidents on the Yugoslav-Albanian border, the epilogue of which was eight casualties, the leader of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, called on Albanians to cross the border en masse and, as he said, at their own risk, and to enter Albania as a gift to the pope. Pope John Paul II's visit to Albania was treated

in Kosmet as a first-class political event, or as the local press says—it was the spiritual cult of pan-national integration.

The Albanian-language press in Pristina also reported that upon welcoming the pope, Albanian President Sali Berisha warned of the "ethnic cleansing that threatens Albanians in Kosovo, and that Belgrade is waiting for the right moment to begin a massacre, to expel and uproot Albanians from their hearths, and thus to begin a Balkan war."

Holy See "Recognized Kosovo's Sovereignty"?

The self-styled president of the "Kosovo state," Ibrahim Rugova, gave Pope John Paul II a stone from the walls of the ancient city at Pristina, Ulpijana. Those who see the religious division of Europe as one of the goals of the new world order, as a columnist for the newspaper BUJKU wrote, interpret this gesture by Rugova as confirmation of the opinion that for Kosmet Albanians the only course toward a state leads through Catholic doors. Because, reporters covering the pope's pilgrimage to Albania note, over the last month Rugova has met with the pope twice—first at the Vatican and then in Albania.

In the meantime, there has been a change in the territorial organization and jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic dioceses in the territory of Serbia, or rather Yugoslavia, because of the creation of new states in the former Yugoslavia, according to the explanation from Prizren Diocese. Thus, the Skopje-Prizren Diocese has been split up into two new dioceses. The Skopje Diocese is under the jurisdiction of the Archdiocese of Rome, while the Prizren Diocese is under the patronage of the Skoder Archdiocese, even though there are two archdioceses in present-day Yugoslavia, Bar and Belgrade. In this way, a precedent has been set in the administrative organization of the dioceses, since in the past the Vatican has exclusively linked the territorial organization of its provinces, deaneries, dioceses, and archdioceses with the state borders of the country in which they are located. We recall that Pope Wojtyla effected a similar reorganization a year before armed conflict broke out in Slovenia, when the "Slovene Nadskofija," i.e., archdiocese, was removed from the jurisdiction of the cardinal of Zagreb and linked to the cardinalate of Trieste.

Into the World Through Boxing Ring

At the end of last week, Pristina newspapers added to this specific recognition of Kosovo sovereignty the participation of "boxing representation of Kosovo in the international tournament in Sofia." There, boxers from the "Kosovo state" took third place and "secured international recognition from the boxing federation," whereby the "president of the republic, Dr. Rugova," congratulated them personally at a formal reception.

Moreover, the Albanian press is providing detailed reporting on all movements by the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia and the police in Kosmet. For example, BUJKU reports that on 24 April at 1800, six military trucks passed by Urosevac, and the passing of four tanks, two artillery pieces, and four trucks at Veternik near Pristina was also noted. Even military railroad cars at train stations do not escape attention. BUJKU says that this "information was provided by the information center of the republic of Kosovo."

The fact that everything is under control and that nothing is happening by chance is confirmed by the report by the various missions that visited Kosmet during April. In their report, the six members of a delegation from the U.S. Congress support the so-called Rugova peace plan for Kosovo, demanding that peacekeeping forces be stationed in the province, while asking U.S. President Clinton to direct action against Serb aggression. At the same time, Albanian Minister of Army Safet Zuljalji has announced that he will not permit ethnic cleansing in Kosovo. The 1 May issue of the Pristina newspaper ZERI carried a statement by the Bulgarian defense minister, who does not rule out the possibility of Serb aggression in Kosovo.

Thus, many people already see a war in Kosmet. Last Friday, responding to a question from a journalist, Prof. Fehmi Agani said that "Albanians feel that there is no real foundation and interest for partitioning Kosovo."

That is apparently the only thing about which Serbs and Albanians agree.